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## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE LAKESIDE TONGA OF NYASALAND<sup>1</sup>

by

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### S Y N O P S I S

*The early history of the Lakeside Tonga, that is before the arrival of the missionaries in the 1870's, is barely documented. For that period one has to rely heavily on such oral information as legends and genealogies. From a historical point of view these legends and genealogies become more meaningful if one can view them in the light of present social and political realities. Conversely, from the standpoint of the social and political groups concerned, present realities find their justification in their legends and genealogies. But different groups may compete for the same privileges, titles, status, etc., and justify their claims with different versions of the same legends and genealogies or with different legends and genealogies altogether. The different and conflicting legends and genealogies are as much a social reality as the social and political competition itself. Particularly in the absence of documentary evidence, a search for the 'true' legend or genealogy is therefore fruitless; the bias of a legend or genealogy is inherent in the social and political situation. This article is therefore not only an attempt to reconstruct the pre-1870 period of Tonga history; it is also a description of the way legends and genealogies are manipulated by the various factions to support present claims. At the same time, this is for the author an essay in the circumspect use of legends and genealogies in order to learn about the Tonga past and present.*

### INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to reconstruct some aspects of the history of a people with practically no written records or other material evidence of their past. With the arrival of the missionaries in the last quarter of the 19th century we begin to get some documentary evidence for events in Tongaland.<sup>2</sup> But as regards the beginnings of Tonga society (which lie probably somewhere in the 18th century) and the period

of Ngoni domination, we are largely groping in the dark. For an insight into this earlier period (which is the subject of this article) I had to rely almost entirely on oral traditions, *i.e.* legends and genealogies. These data I have considered in the light of my knowledge of Tonga society as it is at present.<sup>3</sup>

This kind of historical analysis calls for even greater circumspection in the interpretation of one's data, than is necessary when dealing with documentary evidence of

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<sup>1</sup>This article is based upon printed sources and my own observations when I worked in the area as a Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. I am grateful to Dr G. Shepperson, Mr M. M. V. Leonard and the late Mr W. H. J. Rangeley and my former colleagues at Manchester University, for their comments. I thank Professor S. J. K. Baker and Mr J. K. Mbazira of the Geography Department, Makerere College, for their kind assistance in drawing the map.

<sup>2</sup>This period is the subject of my forthcoming article on: 'The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga'.

<sup>3</sup>For a similar historical reconstruction with reference to the Fort Jameson Ngoni, see J. A. Barnes, 1954: *Politics in a Changing Society*, Oxford University Press for The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Cf. also I. G. Cunnison, 1951: *History on the Luapula*, Oxford University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, for a more general discussion of the concept of history amongst a preliterate people and their own reconstruction of the past.



literate societies. But in some respects the problems in both cases are similar. After all, even in societies which have ample written records and other material evidence of the past (e.g. lay-out of towns, ancient monuments, etc.), interpretation of these data and hence the history of the society concerned may vary a great deal, according to the political and social background of the interpreter and the period in which he lives. In all societies, too, there is a general tendency to remember the battles won but not the battles lost, or alternatively, to turn battles lost into battles won. In other words, history in literate societies, too, is less of an 'absolute truth' than those who adhere to a particular version believe it to be. There is ample scope for selection, biased interpretation, and manipulation of the data.

The same applies *a fortiori* to societies where legends can often not be checked against any concrete data. For the more recent past of many preliterate societies there may be contemporary accounts from foreigners, e.g. European missionaries and travellers. But these accounts are too often marred by an incomplete understanding of the people they are describing and they are generally written with the bias of a European value system. And this tends to diminish their value as historical documents. For instance, writers, both past and present, when dealing with the Tonga often remark upon the intra-tribal jealousies, factions and disputes which are such a marked feature of Tonga society. These writers almost invariably assume that those jealousies etc. are an evil and disrupting factor in this society. Apart from the fact that jealousies and factions are a universal phenomenon, in Tonga society they are not necessarily disruptive and disintegrative; at least they are not now and there is no reason to believe that they were in the past. Indeed quarrels and disputes can play an important

role in the ultimate cohesion of these strongly individualistic and independent people.<sup>4</sup>

Many preliterate societies now have written histories as a result of several generations of education. However, these 'histories' are often merely recorded legends. Amongst the Tonga some of these 'histories' were forwarded by their Tonga authors to the local Administrator or even to the Secretariat in the Protectorate's capital in order to prove the writers' claims to some ancient title and therefore to an official appointment, e.g. that of Native Authority. Another factor has now also entered Tonga legends, both written and unwritten. Certain theories, opinions and findings of Europeans who have interested themselves in the history of the area, have found their way back into Tonga legends. An interesting example of this phenomenon is the legend which puts the origin of the Tumbuka, who adjoin the Tonga, and some sections of the Tonga, in Timbuktu. This seems to have been a theory of Reverend T. Cullen Young. Finally, the view of the world of many societies like that of the Tonga has widened considerably. Tonga now read newspapers. Practically all adult men have lived in one of the industrial centres of Southern Africa, in close contact with the once distant cultures of other African societies and of the Europeans. Many Tonga men have been as far afield as the former Gold Coast (in the Ashanti campaign of 1901), Somaliland, North Africa, Burma and Malaya while serving in the King's African Rifles. Some of the knowledge thus gathered may also find its way into Tonga legends.<sup>5</sup>

The starting point of legends in preliterate societies (or the legends about the pre-literate past) is generally the present political and social structure. The legends serve to explain and validate the present social and political relationships in terms of the past; they are a 'mnemonic device'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>I shall elaborate this point in my forthcoming monograph on the Lakeside Tonga.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Note 19 below.

<sup>6</sup>This term is used by Bohannan with reference to Tiv genealogies; see Laura Bohannan, 1952: 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, 22, 4, October 1952, pp. 301-315, at p. 315. It was Malinowski who first diverted the attention from the autonomous substance of the myth to the relation of the myth to the culture and the society in which it is found. He considered myths as 'charters' for existing social relationships. Cf. B. Malinowski, 1926: 'Myth in Primitive Psychology' in *Magic, Science and Religion* (1948 edition), Glencoe, Ill., pp. 72-124. See also Cunnison, 1951, pp. 4-5, 12-14.



If we consider legends in the light of these various factors, it is obvious that we have to be very cautious when we want to use them as historical evidence. And it is clear that it is generally impossible to treat one legend as representing the absolute truth about the past, rather than another legend dealing with the same topic or period.<sup>7</sup> This also applies to genealogies, particularly those which are supposed to trace descent many generations back and which thus fall into the category of legends. Such genealogies are often meant to prove descent from an important historical (or legendary) personality and to validate a person's present position as the bearer of an important title. After all, the Tonga share the general human characteristic that 'a man tends to remember only those links in his pedigree which are socially important and which "place" him at once in the minds of the hearers.'<sup>8</sup>

I recorded many legendary genealogies among the Tonga; some of them were quite patently incomplete or overcomplete. As I shall describe more fully elsewhere,<sup>9</sup> Tonga social structure, as I found it, affords ample scope for manipulating genealogies for political and other purposes; and one may safely assume that the same happened in the past. For example, a junior collateral lineage may be manoeuvred into the position of a senior and dominant lineage. And people can almost invariably trace bonds of kinship between one another in several different ways, depending on the social or political context and the issue at stake.<sup>10</sup> Genealogies may be telescoped or, indeed, conveniently forgotten altogether if a person's position in the political structure of the village is not as firmly based on ancient links with, or claims in, the village, as they like to maintain. Finally there is the fact that we are after all dealing with human memory which, without concrete aids, does have its natural limitations. And on the whole, Tonga

cannot trace descent further back than three or four generations.

All these factors contribute to what Barnes has called 'structural amnesia'.<sup>11</sup> Thus genealogies are often unreliable instruments not only for ascertaining or confirming a person's claimed descent from an illustrious ancestor, but also for constructing a chronology of events.

For these reasons I have described this article as 'an attempt at historical reconstruction'. And I have endeavoured to prevent any undue finality from entering into this reconstruction of the Tonga past. Most of my statements are really hypotheses. However, my main purpose has been to give a general idea of what seems likely to have happened in the first phases of the genesis of Tonga society. Some of my data on the present and legendary titles, the settlement of the area, stockades, and other aspects of the history of Tonga society are probably correct. Data on other titles etc. may be unreliable. This is to a large extent inherent in the situation, as explained before, and generally not a matter of further historical research or of considering, without additional concrete evidence, one version of a legend as the one and only true version. For of many, if not most, legends it can be said that: *si non e vero, e ben trovato*; they are good stories whose prime importance for the Tonga is to give historical validity to present-day social and political relationships. Within this social and political context the historical authenticity of legends is of secondary importance; and this is a fact one has of course continually to bear in mind when using legends for purposes of chronology and historiography.

Apart, however, from a purely historical interest in the Tonga past, as seen from the objective viewpoint of an outsider, I also wanted to present a picture of their past as it is seen by the Tonga themselves, *i.e.* as a social factor in their society as it is at

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Cunnison, 1951, pp. 21-22.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. A. T. and G. M. Culwick, 1935: *Ubena of the Rivers*, Allen & Unwin, London, p. 180; and Cunnison, 1951, pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup>See Note 4 above.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. the case of 'The Theoretical Kinship Argument' in my forthcoming monograph.

<sup>11</sup>See J. A. Barnes, 1947: 'The Collection of Genealogies', *Human Problems of British Central Africa*, 5, p. 52.



present. I therefore recorded and analysed some of the legends from the point of view of illustrating clearly observable political rivalries of the present, particularly the rivalry between those who call themselves and each other respectively Phiri and Kapunda Banda, and who are thus classified by other Tonga. The two groups are competing for the political and executive authority (viz. the position of Native Authority) in the lake-shore area south of the Luweya.<sup>12</sup> The legends which illustrate and highlight this rivalry and put its origins in the past, may sometimes be more fiction than fact. But the existence of the rivalry itself in the present is an indisputable fact. This gives those legends a definite social significance beside their possible objectively historical significance.

It is with these aims and cautions in mind, that I present the following notes on the history of the Tonga.

#### THE EARLIEST PERIODS

The history of the northern parts of Nyasaland may be divided into five periods:

- (1) The time before the penetration of the traders, that is, the dim past;
- (2) the period of the penetrations of the ivory and slave-trading groups from across the north-eastern shores of the Lake Nyasa;
- (3) The invasions of the Ngoni;
- (4) The short period between the waning power of the Ngoni and the effectual establishment of British administration;
- (5) The period of British administration.

The first period covers the past up till about 1780 when this area was inhabited by small and probably independent groups of Tumbuka.<sup>13</sup> Nothing in particular is

known about the state of affairs in what is now Tonga country during this period. In fact, it is not even known whether the area was inhabited at all at that time, or, if it was, whether the inhabitants were of Tumbuka or of Nyanja stock. Cullen Young thinks that the Nyaliwanga, who now live in TIMBIRI's<sup>14</sup> area around Chikwina, may be the indigenous inhabitants of Tongaland.<sup>15</sup>

The second period starts with the arrival, towards the end of the eighteenth century, of groups of ivory and slave-traders,<sup>16</sup> some of whom at least were probably Arab agents and perhaps part-Arab themselves. Amongst them were several men who are now claimed by various tribes as their chiefly ancestors. Of these invaders, the most important, or at any rate the one who made the greatest impact, was Mlowoka who settled in Nkamanga (near the present Njakwa) where he founded the house of the CHIKULA-MAYEMBE-s. There is no evidence that these traders came as conquerors as did the Ngoni later, and it is more likely that they came as traders pushing farther inland in search of ivory and perhaps other merchandise. They were part of the Arab trade organisation which worked roughly in an east-west direction and was based on Zanzibar and/or Dar-es-Salaam.<sup>17</sup> Mlowoka (which is a generic name meaning "He who crossed", that is, the lake) and the later CHIKULA-MAYEMBE-s extended their influence and created a ruling dynasty more through political manoeuvring than through warfare. They claim to have dominated all the land from the Songwe River in the north to the Dwangwa River in the south, which includes the Tonga area.<sup>18</sup>

According to Cullen Young, KABUNDULI, the ancestor of the present Tonga chief KABUNDULI, was among the fol-

<sup>12</sup>I shall return to the historical and legendary background of this political alignment in my 'The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga'.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Mary Tew, 1950: *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, London, pp. 52-3.

<sup>14</sup>I shall give names that are also hereditary chiefly titles in capitals.

<sup>15</sup>T. Cullen Young, 1932: *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples*, Religious Tract Society, London, pp. 27 *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup>Young, *loc. cit.*; Tew, *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>It is interesting to note that the European penetration in this part was in a south-north direction, that is, each group cut across the other's trade routes.

<sup>18</sup>Young, *op. cit.* p. 49.



lowers of Mlowoka; it is a fact that the present KABUNDULI has Mlowoka as a praise name. On the other hand, according to the tribal histories which I collected, KABUNDULI had his own party including KANYENDA and they came from the north,<sup>19</sup> finding CHIKULAMAYEMBE already settled in Nkamanga. After staying for a while in Nkamanga, KABUNDULI went farther south. Some informants said that they left CHIKULAMAYEMBE because they were worried by Bemba raids. The first KABUNDULI settled in the area where the present incumbent still lives, that is, in the hilly inland parts of Tongaland<sup>20</sup> which he claims to have found uninhabited. But KANYENDA went farther south still and settled south of the Dwambazi River where KANYENDA is at present a Chewa chief. According to some accounts, after some years in Tonga country KABUNDULI resumed his trek to the south, where he disappeared and perhaps died in what is now Northern Rhodesia. His sister, Chikan-dira, whom he left behind in Tongaland, is the ancestress of the later KABUNDULI-s. The followers of KABUNDULI are still mostly in the hills and not by the lake.

The area by the lake between the Dwambazi River in the south and the Luweya River in the north, is generally considered as the present home of the Kapunda Banda.<sup>21</sup> The accounts of their wanderings and final

settlement in their present habitat are different from those of KABUNDULI and his followers. The Kapunda Banda also say that they came from the north (Egypt, Timbuktu, etc.) but I never heard of their having travelled or lived with CHIKULAMAYEMBE. It is generally agreed, however, that the Kapunda Banda lived with the Chewa chief MWASE at Kasungu<sup>22</sup> where, according to all legends, they misbehaved themselves by killing MWASE's pet dog Chofya.<sup>23</sup> To escape his wrath, they went to Kotakota, and from there they came north to their present position.

The leader of the Kapunda Banda is supposed to have been Mankaka,<sup>24</sup> and Kapunda Banda informants told me that it was he who entered into a treaty with CHIKULAMAYEMBE, who kept in contact with Mankaka through envoys. CHIKULAMAYEMBE also sent "medicines to make Mankaka strong in war".<sup>25</sup> Against this alliance between Mankaka and CHIKULAMAYEMBE stood the two 'brothers' KANYENDA and KABUNDULI.<sup>26</sup>

The most likely interpretation of these traditions seems to be that after the generally accepted mass migration in the fifteenth century of Bantu tribes from the north reaching into South Africa,<sup>27</sup> there were other, smaller drifts southwards of tribal groups from and through the area in between the lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The cause

<sup>19</sup>Some informants say that they came from Egypt and others that they came from Arabia whence they were expelled by Mohammed for not adopting his religion. Others again gave as the place of origin Asia Minor (using this name) and referred to Genesis 2, 13, or Ethiopia which shows the influence of Ethiopianism, probably from South Africa (cf. B. G. M. Sundkler, 1948: *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. Lutterworth Press, London). I have also heard Timbuktu mentioned as the legendary home; this place was probably inserted in the legends as a result of the Rev. Cullen Young's theory that the Tumbuka (to whom the Tonga are related) originally came from Timbuktu. I do not mention these divergent legends simply because they are divergent, but rather because they are clearly embellishments and elaborations added by people who have travelled widely and who read newspapers, the Bible and probably the reconstructions of tribal histories of Cullen Young and other Europeans. For instance, one Tonga presented me with a tribal history which he had written and in which he frequently used the term 'totem' when referring to clan names.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Young, 1932, p. 92.

<sup>21</sup>This area is not inhabited exclusively by those who are known as the Kapunda Banda; there are pockets of those who call themselves Phiri.

<sup>22</sup>About a hundred miles south-west in a straight line from Chinteché.

<sup>23</sup>It would be interesting to know whether in this region dogs often act in legends as focal points for political quarrels. Cf. also the story of a dispute between the Ngoni leaders MPEZENI and MBELWA as quoted by Barnes: Barnes, 1954, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup>This is the version which I heard from the majority of my informants. But those Kapunda Banda who claim descent from KALIMANJIRA say that it was the latter who was the leader of the Kapunda Banda.

<sup>25</sup>See also Young, 1932, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup>Young, 1932, p. 92.

<sup>27</sup>See for instance: A. T. Bryant, 1949: *The Zulu People*, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, Chap. I. Bryant's chronology is based upon genealogies; it is therefore possible that these migrations took place earlier.



of this latter migration might have been the combined effect of the pressure of Arab trade based upon Zanzibar and/or Dar-es-Salaam, and directed to this area,<sup>28</sup> and the raids of the Bemba. The groups we have been dealing with, that is, those led by the ancestors of CHIKULAMAYEMBE, KABUNDULI, KANYENDA, the Kapunda Banda, etc. were probably all part of this southward movement. CHIKULAMAYEMBE settled in Nkamanga, which is said to have been good elephant country. Here he managed to bring various scattered tribal groups together in a larger political organisation. This was his only hope if he wanted to carry on trade in the face of Bemba raids, whilst the groups thus brought together saw in this comparatively peaceful unification<sup>29</sup> their only chance of surviving those raids. KABUNDULI and KANYENDA also settled down in Nkamanga, and perhaps the Kapunda Banda too, although I never collected a tale to that effect.<sup>30</sup> For some reason, (perhaps they were worried by Bemba raids) the groups of KANYENDA and KABUNDULI moved farther south again to their present localities. It is not clear why KABUNDULI and his followers should have settled in the hill area instead of by the lake. Maybe they were an inland tribe by origin for whom the lake had no economic or other attractions. At any rate, it seems safe to say that KABUNDULI and the majority of his people settled in the hills whilst the Kapunda Banda (who almost certainly arrived later) settled nearer the lake. KABUNDULI and his followers maintain that they are really the "owners

of the land", as they settled first in the area, and that the Kapunda Banda later "begged" KABUNDULI for a place to live,<sup>31</sup> which he gave. The Kapunda Banda, however, say that they defeated KABUNDULI and thus conquered the land, and they point out that Kapunda Banda means "the victorious Banda".<sup>32</sup>

Kapunda Banda tradition has it that KANYENDA could "walk" in the lakeshore area north of the Dwanga River, which seems to have been the northern boundary of KANYENDA's territory. This "walking" meant, so my Kapunda Banda informants said, that Kanyenda could not lay any claim to that area, but could move about without danger, like a kinsman. This might be possible in view of the fact that there was a political and/or kinship bond between KANYENDA and KABUNDULI, who claimed the overlordship over that area. KABUNDULI's version of the legend about this episode is that KANYENDA could move freely in this lakeshore area by right as he was KABUNDULI's brother, and that therefore the Kapunda Banda, who were subordinate to KABUNDULI, had no right to interfere with KANYENDA's presence there. On the other hand, Mr. Rangeley tells me that according to Chewa legends KABUNDULI was a tribute-paying vassal of the Chewa chief KANYENDA.<sup>33</sup>

The Kapunda Banda say that KANYENDA decided that he wanted more than the privilege of 'walking' and that he began to demand tribute from the Kapunda Banda. In the disputes and fights which followed, KABUNDULI took the side of his brother

<sup>28</sup>The same factor impeded the development of European trading interests at the north end of Lake Nyasa in the last twenty years of the 19th century. The result was the North End War with the Arabs under Mlozi. See for instance: S. S. Murray, 1932: *Handbook of Nyasaland*, Crown Agents for Colonies, for Govt. of Nyasaland, London; pp. 41, 53 *et seq.* See also my *The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga* for further discussion of this point and some of the relevant literature.

<sup>29</sup>There are no indications that the founder of the CHIKULAMAYEMBE dynasty was engaged in wars and raids like the Ngoni half a century later. Cf. Young, 1932, pp. 32, 35-37, 41, 82 *et passim*; Donald Fraser, 1914, *Winning a Primitive People*, Seeley Service, London, p. 116 *et seq.* For a similar situation cf. J. C. Mitchell, 1956: *The Yao Village*, Manchester University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Manchester, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup>Cullen Young thinks that they by-passed Nkamanga (*op. cit.* p. 84).

<sup>31</sup>*Kuphempa maru* (to ask for a place) has the implication that the one who begs has inferior political status.

<sup>32</sup>According to KABUNDULI the name means: 'he who burns his mouth'; the implication is that the Kapunda Banda were such a miserable and hungry lot that they could never wait for their food to cool off.

<sup>33</sup>These two versions do not differ with regard to the basic facts but they vary greatly in the interpretation of those facts. This variation is inherent in the present political relationships and, without further concrete data, the truth of either version cannot be established. Both versions equally explain the present rather than the past and they are thus an illustration of the caution one should apply when one uses legends as historical evidence.



KANYENDA. The Kapunda Banda under Mankaka first neutralised KABUNDULI; then they drove KANYENDA back across the Dwambazi River and told him never to set foot again on their side of the Dwambazi—as indeed he did not. They put DAMBA LIUZI (also a Kapunda Banda) by the Dwambazi to guard the boundary.<sup>34</sup>

From the fact that the Kapunda Banda entered their present home from the south, one is led to think that they were a Chewa offshoot who were being pursued by the Chewa chief KANYENDA. Thus the Kapunda Banda would have been the common enemy of KABUNDULI and KANYENDA. This, and possibly their previous ties, would explain why KABUNDULI should have sided with KANYENDA, as the legends say he did. There might be another factor which drove the two together. Cullen Young<sup>35</sup> writes that the CHIKULAMAYEMBE-s claimed as their domain an area with the Dwangwa River as its southern boundary. Moreover, the Kapunda Banda have a tradition that CHIKULAMAYEMBE sent emissaries to Mankaka with medicines to fight KANYENDA. CHIKULAMAYEMBE is also supposed to have promised Mankaka that he, CHIKULAMAYEMBE, would put KABUNDULI under Mankaka as a reward for the latter's help in defeating KANYENDA. I have not been able to collect any information (and Cullen Young does not provide it either) regarding the practical implications of the CHIKULAMAYEMBE claim to overlordship over such a large area.<sup>36</sup> And what was the nature of the contacts between the Kapunda Banda and this distant chief in Nkamanga? In any event, there are reasons to believe that CHIKULAMAYEMBE had a quarrel with both KANYENDA and KABUNDULI<sup>37</sup> so

that an alliance between these two was only natural.

Even if we ignore these details about who fought whom and why, it is still clear that KABUNDULI and his followers and the Kapunda Banda were different groups (perhaps from different stock) who moved into their present habitats from different directions and at different times. This circumstance is the origin of the rivalry, which persists up till this day, between the Kapunda Banda and the Phiri (as KABUNDULI and his followers are generally called).

Another immigrant group is that of MANKHAMBIRA, KANGOMA and others who now live north of the Luweya River. They are also said to have come from across the lake and it seems likely that this group too was part of the general move southwards. It is not clear whether KANGOMA arrived first and later had to yield to MANKHAMBIRA, or whether they came together. It is certain that at the time of the Tonga revolt against the Ngoni,<sup>38</sup> MANKHAMBIRA was the great war leader in that area, and it is his name which frequently appears in the literature and not KANGOMA's.

According to tradition, MANKHAMBIRA came with guns, which may have been the means whereby he established his authority. This he achieved not so much through conquest as by being a rallying-point where the weaker locals could find protection. MANKHAMBIRA did not find the country empty, or so KAMISA tells me, but he was given land by an ancestor of KAMISA.<sup>39</sup> Both MANKHAMBIRA and KAMISA say that this land, whoever it belonged to, was given and not taken by conquest.

As for the ancestors of KAMISA and others who claim that they were there before

<sup>34</sup>The Dwambazi is about 25 miles or a day's walk north of the Dwanga River. Cullen Young gives a somewhat different version but this does not effect my interpretation. My impression is that he got most of his information from Tumbuka people and none from Kapunda Banda.

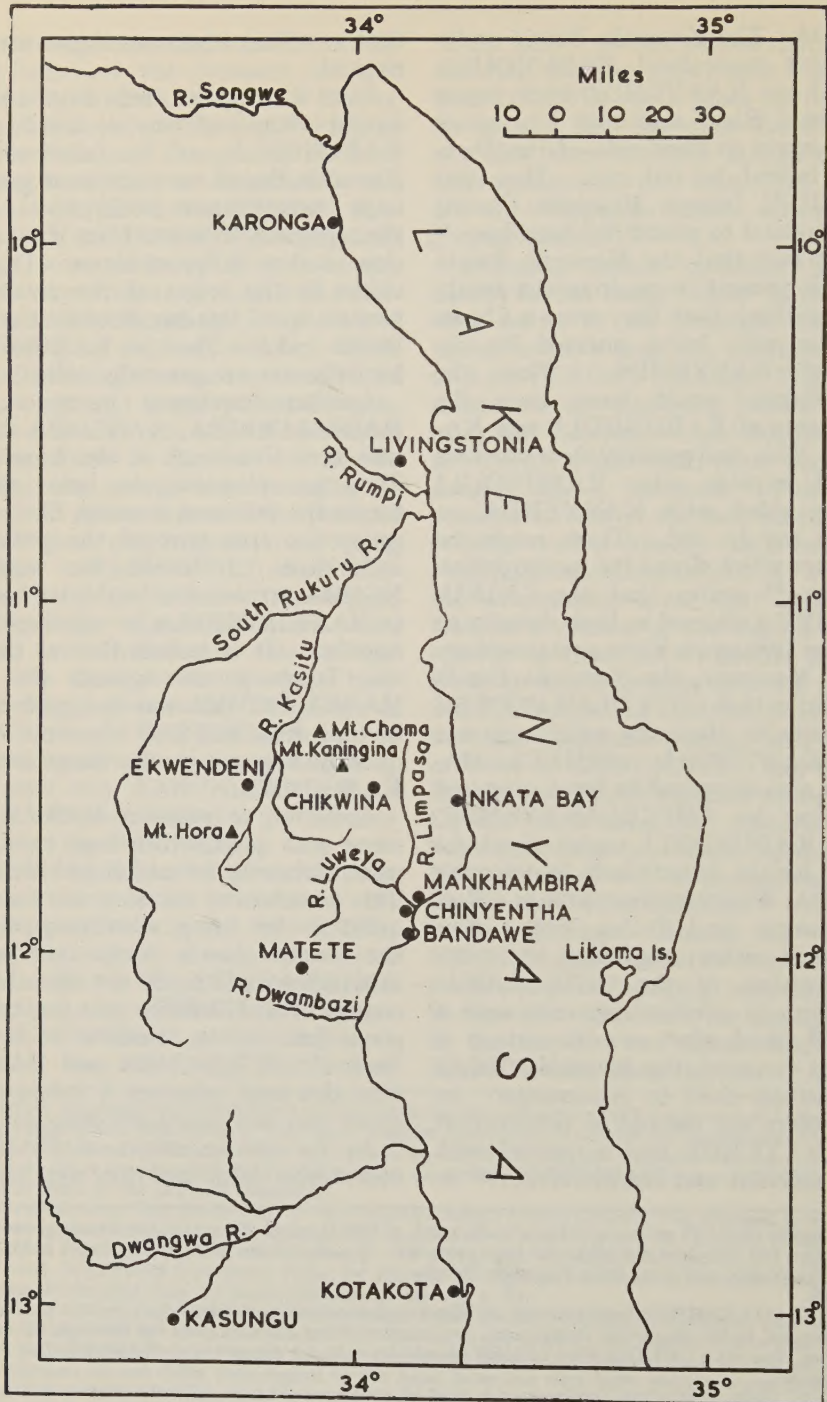
<sup>35</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>36</sup>From CHIKULAMAYEMBE's headquarters in Nkamanga it would probably take the best part of a week to walk to Chinteché, in the Kapunda Banda area, and another three days or so to the Dwanga River.

<sup>37</sup>Again it is not clear why CHIKULAMAYEMBE should have had a dispute with KABUNDULI.

<sup>38</sup>See p. 116 below.

<sup>39</sup>It is more than likely that other headmen or groups of people would give different stories about the state in which MANKHAMBIRA found this area; their versions will, at least partly, depend on their relationship to MANKHAMBIRA.



J K Mbazira, 1959



MANKHAMBIRA came, so far as I can make out KAMISA moved down to the lake from the hill area round Chikwina. The chief here is TIMBIRI, who is considered a Nyaliwanga chief, and his area is said to be the country of the Nyaliwanga. It is possible that the Nyaliwanga are the oldest inhabitants of Tongaland.<sup>40</sup>

It appears, then, that the Tonga tribe is an amalgamation of at least four different groups: the Nyaliwanga, the Kapunda Banda, and KABUNDULI and MANKHAMBIRA with their respective followers. These groups coalesced into one people with a tribal identity who now call themselves Tonga. This process of absorption of 'foreign' groups is still going on: there are Tonga who in their own lifetime have come from Likoma Island or Tumbuka country or Siska country, but who are now fully accepted as Tonga with rights in the land. This process is not only taking place at the periphery of the Tonga area.

The Tonga have as strong a sense of tribal identity as that of peoples with a much longer tribal history. They would never admit to a stranger that the Tonga tribe is of comparatively recent origin and that they are a mixture of offshoots from other tribes. I have met only one man who admitted as much. We were discussing the fact that the Tonga always pride themselves on being different from the surrounding tribes. He said "There is no such thing as 'real Tonga' and 'real chiTonga'. Our language comes from chiTumbuka—it is the language of the Tumbuka which became influenced by the language of the Henga and the Nyanja. Similarly, our customs are those of the Tumbuka, but they were influenced by the customs of the Chewa, the Henga and other peoples. Tonga is really only the name of the country, as Maravi is the name of the country of the Chewa".

#### PERIOD OF NGONI RAIDS

The process of coalescence was speeded up and completed in the period of the Ngoni wars, which covered roughly the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Whilst the driving force behind the trek of Mlowoka and his contemporaries seems to have been a search for trade with the reputedly rich ivory country west of Lake Nyasa, the Ngoni were in search of pasture and land. Whereas Mlowoka's migration provided the first contacts with the market economy of the Arabs, and, indirectly, of Europe, the Ngoni were exponents of the old tribal economy. The Ngoni we are concerned with in this context are MBELWA's Ngoni,<sup>41</sup> who settled in the middle of the nineteenth century in the area round Ekwendeni.<sup>42</sup> They were one branch of the group of Nguni people who, in the 1820's, had fled from Shaka's rising power. Under the leadership of Zwangendaba they crossed the Zambezi River and travelled north through the Luangwa valley and up to a point near the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Here Zwangendaba died and his following split up; MBELWA was one of the leaders who emerged and he led his section southwards again. From their new home near Ekwendeni, the Ngoni continued their system of raiding in order to obtain a regular supply of manpower and food. There is no evidence to suggest, least of all regarding the Tonga area, that the Ngoni embarked upon a series of conquests beyond the region where they had actually settled. They do not seem to have brought areas such as Tonga country within a system of political administration. Apparently they did not exact tributes through administrative channels, but they got what they wanted by sending out raiding parties—the notorious *impi*-s.

The Tonga lived in small scattered villages

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Young, 1932, p. 45.

<sup>41</sup>Other versions of the same name are: MWAMBERA, MOMBERRA, or M'MBELWA. For a summary of the wanderings of the Ngoni and references to fuller accounts, see Barnes, 1954, pp. 7-28.

<sup>42</sup>In a private communication Mr Rangeley gives as his view that the Ngoni originally settled at Choma from where they spread over other areas. This may well be so but it does not affect my main argument about the political relationships between the Ngoni and the Tonga.



where they must have been an easy prey for the Ngoni raiders. The Tonga and Ngoni lived in adjacent areas. It is known that in the 1870's there were many Tonga living with the Ngoni, both men and women. Indeed, there are many Tonga now who claim that their ancestors were brave warriors in the service of the Ngoni.<sup>43</sup> It is not clear whether these men were captured by the Ngoni and pressed into their army, or whether they "volunteered".<sup>44</sup> It is also possible that the ancestors of many people who now consider themselves Tonga never came from Tongaland at all, but were captives from other tribes who joined the Tonga in revolt and never went back to their home country.

One thing seems certain, however, and this is that there was no group of Ngoni-bred ex-Tonga who had been cut off, through distance in time and space, from their own people. Considering that the Ngoni supremacy lasted only just over twenty years, there had not been enough time for a generation of ex-Tonga to grow up as Ngoni,<sup>45</sup> as was the case with people who had been incorporated on the earlier part of the Ngoni trek northwards. Moreover, those Tonga who lived with the Ngoni do not seem to have been geographically separated from their kinsmen who were still in the home area, that is, only two or three days' walk away. And there was no other tribe living in between.<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, according to all accounts, there was regular contact between the two groups, and the Ngoni-Tonga could freely visit their relatives by the lake. This is another factor which would lead one to think that there was a "voluntary" element in the service

the Tonga performed for the Ngoni; the reward for this service seems to have been a share in the war booty.

As for the villages in the Tonga area, some informants say that the people stayed where they were and did not withdraw within large stockaded villages until the Tonga revolt in the 1870's. Others, however, say that some people stayed in their villages<sup>47</sup> but that the majority left their own smaller, undefended villages and concentrated in a few large stockaded villages. There were altogether not more than about four or five big stockades. One was MANKHAMBIRA's *lingga* (plural *malingga*) north of the Luweya River, between its mouth and the Chintech Stream. His village used to be further north but he moved nearer the marshy area by the Luweya mouth (with its crocodiles) which offered better opportunity for defence. There were two or three Tonga stockades south of the Luweya of which Marenga's at Bandawe was one. Another one was in the Matete valley, south west of Bandawe; the leader here was CHAVULA who, as a Phiri, claims to be related to KABUNDULI.<sup>48</sup>

There can be no doubt that CHINYENTHA also had a *lingga* at the southern side of the Luweya: all Tonga know about it and there are still quite a number of people alive who were born there. It is strange however that neither Dr Laws nor Dr Stewart, who traversed the area in 1877 and 1878, mention CHINYENTHA's stockade whilst they do mention the others. The explanation might be that CHINYENTHA's *lingga* was of a more recent date, built in about 1877 after the Tonga rebellion, whereas the others were built before the revolt and were ready to receive the Tonga who had

<sup>43</sup>See also: Young, 1932, p. 127; W.P. Livingstone, 1921: *Laws of Livingstonia*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, p. 203.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Barnes (1954, p. 27) who also reports volunteers from surrounding tribes.

<sup>45</sup>Tew (1950, p. 65) seems to think that: 'Within a generation a host of half-breeds had been raised, more blood-thirsty than the Ngoni themselves'. Unfortunately she does not give us her sources for this improbable, exaggerated and emotive statement.

<sup>46</sup>Y. M. Chibambo, 1942: *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*, 'Africa's Own Library', No. 3. Lutterworth Press, London, pp. 39, *et seq.*; James Stewart, 1881: 'Lake Nyasa, and the Water Route to the Lake Region of Africa', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 3, 5, May 1881, p. 262; Robert Laws, 1879: 'Journey along Part of the Western Side of Lake Nyasa', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1, 5, May 1879, pp. 314 *et seq.*

<sup>47</sup>These might have been the people who lived in rather inaccessible villages—which is possible considering the broken character of the country.

<sup>48</sup>Laws, 1879, p. 313; James Stewart, 1879: 'The Second Circumnavigation of Lake Nyasa', *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1, 5, May 1879, pp. 299 *et seq.*



run away from the Ngoni. It is noteworthy that none of the Tonga names which are associated with the Ngoni armies, like MOGOLOZERA and others,<sup>49</sup> are mentioned in the literature and oral tradition as "owners" of *malingga*. On the other hand, the "owners" of the big *malingga*, like MARENGA, MANKHAMBIRA and CHAVULA, are not known as captains in the Ngoni armies. This would lead one to assume that these *malingga* were built before the rebellion. The only exception is CHINYENTHA: he is known as both an army captain and *lingga* "owner" in Tonga tradition, but the literature does not mention his *lingga*. As I suggested before, he probably built his *lingga* after the explorations of Dr Laws and both the Stewarts.

The *malingga* were large villages with double or triple stockades: Laws counted about a thousand huts in MANKHAMBIRA's *lingga*. They were built near water, incorporating within their defence works part of the lake or river, marshes, streams and artificial channels. The cutting of the poles, and in general the building of the defence works, must have taken time. This is another reason for believing that they were built before the revolt.<sup>50</sup>

The *malingga* sheltered the inhabitants of several smaller villages. It is impossible now to find out which factors determined these new associations—why people joined one *lingga* rather than another. For instance, it is not clear why KABUNDULI, who lived in the hills, sought refuge in the lakeside *lingga* of CHINYENTHA, for CHINYENTHA is a Kapunda Banda, and the Kapunda Banda and KABUNDULI had been and still are rivals. And why did Kabunduli not

build his own stockade? - Whatever factors determined *lingga* cohabitation, it is safe to assume that this period in the genesis of the Tonga people was decisive in the creation of the present tribal unity: the various constituent groups faced a common enemy and they were, moreover, thrown together in a few large stockaded villages.

It is not easy to determine the nature and the frequency of the Ngoni raids. They must have been a nuisance, if not a menace. This is shown by the building of the fortified villages.<sup>51</sup>

The Ngoni raids into the Tonga and other areas were, at least partially, prompted by periodic shortages of food,<sup>52</sup> but it is unlikely that they found much among the Tonga. The Tonga (except for the occasional individual) have never kept cattle. Nor do they store their staple crop, cassava, in large quantities, as is the case with grain cultivators. In Tongaland cassava, unlike maize and other cereals, does not ripen in one particular season; its tubers take from twelve to eighteen months to mature from the time of planting, which can be any month of the year. They dig the tubers up as they want them, so that the bulk of the cassava store is in the ground. Moreover, most of it is still immature and this is not worth carrying off. Indeed, cassava seems an ideal crop for a raided people, and, incidentally, for a people whose menfolk nowadays leave the area in great numbers for the towns.

Ngoni raiding parties are also said to have carried off captives, and according to the records those seem to have been mostly women and young men.<sup>53</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the Ngoni were in

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Young, 1932, p. 127.

<sup>50</sup>Livingstone found MARENGA living in a stockaded village in 1861, see David and Chas. Livingstone, 1865: *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambe and its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of Lakes Shirwa and Nyasa*, 1858 -64, John Murray, 1879, p. 299 *et seq.*; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 154-5, 205.

<sup>51</sup>One Tonga informant told me that it was not only the Ngoni who made life difficult but also the Tonga men who, as he said, 'were on leave from Ngoniland. These men would go around the villages, picking up young men to help them carry their shields and loads'. And he quoted MANKHAMBIRA of those days as having said: 'It is not so much the Ngoni who trouble us but you, young Tonga, who take away our fowls and food and other things.' If this is so, it may be that Tonga in Ngoni service used the power derived from this service as a weapon in rivalries within the Tonga situation. See also W. A. Elmslie, 1899, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, Oliphant & Ferrier, p. 101.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Livingstone, 1921, pp. 195, 217. Shortages of food still occur in Ngoniland and some Ngoni still come down to the lake in search of food. But nowadays the search is more peaceful: those who come to Tongaland are employed by their erstwhile subjects to hoe the gardens in exchange for their keep and sometimes a very small cash wage.

<sup>53</sup>Elmslie, 1899, pp. 79 *et seq.*; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 203.



contact with Arabs or other dealers at this time and wanted slaves for the trade. Chibambo<sup>54</sup> says that regular intercourse between the Ngoni and the Arabs did not start until the period of the raids was practically over. Laws<sup>55</sup> reported in 1878 that he came across a camp in this area of slave dealers working for Mataka, the Yao chief who lived about seventy miles to the east from the southern end of the lake. The dealers are supposed to have been trading with CHIPATULA, one of the Ngoni chiefs. There is no corroborating evidence either from Laws himself or from other writers. Hanna<sup>56</sup> writes that the Tonga were "actively engaged in the export of slaves across the lake" but unfortunately he does not give any evidence for this statement. The map in *Laws of Livingstonia*<sup>57</sup> shows an east-west trade route which is supposed to have crossed over Likoma Island and through the centre of Tongaland, near the Luweya River. There is, however, no reference to this route in the text of the book.

I am not excluding, however, the possibility of slave trading in Tongaland, although it seems more likely that this occurred only at a later stage. So far I have not been able to collect any conclusive evidence on this point; a study of the Foreign Office records may yield the required data. It is worth noticing that Barnes comes to the same conclusion with regard to the Fort Jameson Ngoni. The latter did not sell their captives as slaves either; they needed their captives to increase the manpower of the expanding Ngoni state.<sup>58</sup>

In the middle of the 1870's, the Tonga who were living with the Ngoni rose in revolt and decamped. The story which is current among all sections of the Tonga is

that "the Ngoni saw that we were too clever because many of us had reached important positions in the Ngoni armies". The Ngoni planned to kill off all the older Tonga people, keeping only the younger ones. This plan was known among the Ngoni as the plan for "destroying the potatoes [i.e. the older people] and keeping the cassava [i.e. the younger people]". The Tonga came to hear of the Ngoni intentions, and before "Operation Potato" could be put into action, the Tonga fled back to their home area by the lake where they took refuge in the various stockades. An Ngoni *impi* sent after them to bring them back was decisively beaten at MANKHAMBIRA's stockade—the battle of the Chinteché Stream, as the Tonga call it.<sup>59</sup>

This episode is known and remembered by all Tonga as one of the occasions on which the Tonga scored off their enemies. The two names which are most prominently associated with the rebellion are those of MANKHAMBIRA and CHINYENTHA. The latter is said to have been the leader of the revolt and the flight to the lakeshore, whilst MANKHAMBIRA was the one who routed the pursuing Ngoni. He claimed that his victory was due to the "medicine" which he received from Laws.<sup>60</sup>

Many writers give 1875 as the date for the Tonga revolt and this is also the date to which the Tonga adhere. But Yuraya Chirwa gives 1877 and this is also the year which can be deduced from Laws's account of his third visit to the Tonga in 1878. When Laws passed through Kotakota in that year on his way to the north, the Jumbe warned him that the Tonga area was in a state of unrest after the Tonga had run away from the Ngoni. It seems likely therefore that the

<sup>54</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>55</sup>Laws, 1879, p. 318.

<sup>56</sup>A. J. Hanna, 1956: *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. p. 37.

<sup>57</sup>Livingstone, 1921.

<sup>58</sup>Barnes, 1954, p. 30. Cf. also L. Gann, 1954: 'The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa', *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, 14, pp. 27–51.

<sup>59</sup>See also Robert Laws, 1934: *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, p. 77; Young, 1932, pp. 118 *et seq.*, 128; Chibambo, pp. 39, 43; Tew, pp. 65 *et seq.* It is not clear what actually happened — whether the Tonga men fled together with wives and children. If so they cannot have moved very fast, at least not as fast as an *impi* which, presumably, was sent after them as soon as the Tonga had gone.

<sup>60</sup>Stewart, 1879, p. 299; Livingstone, 1921, p. 153.



Tonga rebellion was in 1877 or at any rate less than three years before 1878.<sup>61</sup>

A Tonga said to me once that really the Tonga ought to be grateful to Mperembe (the Ngoni chief from whom the potato-cassava plan is said to have come), because if it had not been for his murderous scheme the Tonga might never have rebelled and fled, and there would not have been a Tonga tribe now. In short, the Tonga consider this episode as a milestone in their history.

The insurrection of the Tonga was only the start of a series of attempts by the other subjugated groups to free themselves from Ngoni dominance—some had more success than others. It seems that towards the end of the 1870's the power of the Ngoni was in decline. James Stewart in 1879 noticed that the Ngoni had been losing "both power and prestige within the last two years".<sup>62</sup>

It is a significant coincidence that at this

juncture, when the Ngoni power was waning and when the Tonga were reasserting themselves, the Europeans appeared on the scene: in 1879 the Livingstonia Mission opened an observation post among the Ngoni at Kani-ngina and one among the Tonga at Bandawe. In 1881 a permanent station was established at Bandawe. This was the beginning of the fourth phase in which the Ngoni completely lost their grip on the Tonga, whilst the Tonga threw in their lot with the Europeans to the advantage of both.

An account of the genesis of the Tonga people is not only interesting in itself but also of some importance for an understanding of what is happening in Tongaland at present. And the influence of the mission station at Bandawe explains to a great extent why the Tonga have, more than many other tribes, the reputation of being go-ahead and intelligent. I shall deal with this point elsewhere.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Elmslie, p. 92; Livingstone, 1921, p. 152; Yuraya C. Chirwa: 'Relationship between the Tonga and the Ngoni', see Young, 1932, p. 128; Chibambo, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup>Stewart, 1881, p. 262; see also Elmslie, pp. 91-4; Livingstone, 1921, pp. 195, 229; Young, 1932, p. 122.

<sup>63</sup>See my: 'The Missionary Factor among the Lakeside Tonga'.



## AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF KAVADY, A HINDU CEREMONY IN SOUTH AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

HILDA KUPER\*

### SYNOPSIS

*In this paper I describe a sectional ceremony associated with Hindu religion in South Africa. Kavady was introduced by people of South Indian origin, and is typical of many sectional ceremonies in which a certain number of devotees become identified with a particular deity.*

*The ceremony is backed by various myths and follows a typical Hindu ritual pattern. The deity worshipped symbolises the power of good over evil. The opening is marked by the raising of a flag in his honour, and participants take a vow of purity for the period of 13 days to do his work. The main identification takes place on the 10th day.*

*The devotees are people who have recovered or are recovering from an illness or other misfortune and have made a vow to "carry kavady" for the deity Subrahmanya in thanksgiving. The identification of the privileged few is both psychological and physical and is translated as "trance" or "god-possession" in which condition ordinary people manifest powers beyond those evident in profane existence: they possess powers of the god.*

Associated with Hindu religion in South Africa, are sectional ceremonies, or cults, in which a certain number of devotees become identified with a particular deity. The identification is both psychological and physical, and is known as *murril* in Tamil and *deota* in Hindi, and is translated by informants as "the trance" or "god-possession". In this condition, devotees manifest powers beyond those evident in ordinary, profane, existence; they possess powers attributed to the deity.

The main cults practised in Durban, with the trance as a characteristic experience, are associated with Subrahmanya (or Subramaniam), Draupadi and Mariamma. But we have also witnessed ceremonies in which other deities from the Hindu pantheon—Kali, Durga, Gengema, Dundamari, Angaalisperi, Hanuman, Perumalsami, Madurai Veeran—symbolised Divine Power through the person of selected devotees.

In this article I shall describe the ceremony known as Kavady in which Subrahmanya is the central deity. Kavady is held in several of the main temples in Durban, twice a year—in the months of *Thai poosam* (January to February) and again in *Chitray massum* (April to May) the exact date being decided from the position of the planets as recorded in the traditional calendar, or *panchangam*.

The primary meaning of *kavady* has been given as "burden" or "pole", and the pole carried over the shoulder by hawkers with baskets balanced at each end has also been described as *kavady*. In the ceremony *kavady* is applied specifically to the wooden frames carried by devotees, but the term is also extended to the brass bowls, (*pol kodum*, literally milk bowl) and other "burdens" carried by them as part of the ritual.

Kavady was introduced by people of South

<sup>1</sup>The following description is based on field work financed by the Council of Social and Industrial Research. I am very grateful to Professor Max Marwick, Wendy Bradford, Logi Perumal, Mr B. Gajadhar, and Mr Jeevaruthanum John for taking notes for me on *kavady*. I have condensed their descriptions with my own observations. Eight separate *kavady* ceremonies were covered; the differences were insignificant.

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Indian origin, the Tamil and Telugu, and has not been widely accepted by Hindi- and Gujarati-speaking Indians in South Africa who have their own sectional practices.

*The mythological charter.*

Like all Hindu ceremonies, *kavady* is sanctioned by myths contained in ancient writings. A few pandits referred to the Siva Purana, and the majority of informants mentioned various episodes which they knew from hearsay. The central deity is Subrahmanya, a secondary deity is Hidooman (or Irumam), his 'guard', and mention is also made of Ganessa, the god of sagacity and the first to be worshipped in nearly all ceremonies. I summarise three typical myths:

1. Siva was appealed to by the *Devas* for deliverance from the evil *Asuras* led by Surapathuma and his brothers. In answer to the *Devas*' appeal six sparks of fire issued from Siva's middle eye. The divine sparks were received by Agni (Fire) and cast into the Ganges from where they passed into a Himalayan lake and were transformed into six babies. These were suckled by Parvati, the divine Sakti (female principle) of Siva, but she had difficulty in feeding them all and was sore distressed. Pitying her, Siva sprinkled the babies with holy ash and they became one, having twelve hands and six heads, two legs and one body, and for 'the one' Parvati had milk enough. Siva named the child Siva Subrahmanya, or Skanda (in Sanskrit); another of his many names is Arumukha, the Six Faced; another is Muruga, Youthfulness; and another is Kartikeya, War God. As Kartikeya he proceeded from Kailas, home of the gods, against the *Asuras*, and his camping grounds in India have become the sites of his famous temples. He waged battle against the evil *Asuras* on land, in the sea, and in the air, and most of the *Asuras* perished. But Surapathuma would not admit defeat and appeared before him in many fearful shapes. Rising finally from his island fortress as an enchanted mango tree, Surapathuma attacked Subrahmanya who

was riding Indra (the rain goddess) in the form of a peacock. Subrahmanya struck the tree with his magic lance (*velu*) which broke the tree in two. Instantly the pieces transformed themselves into a mighty peacock and a rooster. As a sign of his power he took the peacock as his permanent charger, and the rooster as his banner.

2. Irumam or Hidooman, a military adviser of the *Asuras*, asked a disciple of Subrahmanya to obtain his master's blessing for him, Irumam. The disciple set him the task of bringing back two statues from Mount Maru, in Lost Lamuria. Irumam set out and eventually found the statues which he attached to each end of a pole and so, heavily burdened, he returned with the pole over his shoulder. The disciple was astonished and asked Subrahmanya to bless Hidooman by anointing him. In the *kavady* ceremony there is always recognition of Irumam.

In a slightly different version, Irumam picked up the images but they were so heavy that after a while he put them down to rest himself. When he tried to lift them again, he failed. He then noticed a child leaping back and forth across the rocks, and called it to help him, but the child took no notice. He grew angry and swore at the child, who thereupon turned into a man and slew him with a spear (*velu*). The child was Subrahmanya. Irumam's wife came and pleaded with him to resuscitate her husband and was told that his name will live forever because he was the first to carry *kavady* for Subrahmanya, and the first to have a spear pierced into him for punishment and then to be forgiven.

3. Siva called his sons Subrahmanya and Ganessa, the elephant headed wise one. Showing them a mango, at that time a rare and sacred fruit, Subrahmanya promised it as the reward to the first of his sons to traverse the whole world. Subrahmanya set out to accomplish the task, but Ganessa remained at home



and relaxed. Eventually, Subrahmanya returned but before he made his claim for the mango, Ganessa walked around Siva and claimed the prize. Amazed, Siva asked for his reason. Ganessa replied "You are the world; whether I circle you or the world is the same thing." So Siva awarded him the mango. Angered and disappointed Subrahmanya went into self-imposed exile in the Pazhani hills where Irumam, then his devoted attendant, brought him milk and fruit on a staff (*kavady*). Subrahmanya blessed him, pronouncing that henceforth a carrier of *kavady* would be healed of sin (sickness) and Irumam would be remembered in this connection.

#### *Kavady* "cases".

The *kavady* devotees include men, women and children who have vowed to "carry *kavady*" for a definite period of time—one year, three years, five years (an uneven number) or "for life" (*janmo kavady*). The varied histories of suffering motivating the devotion appear from the following few illustrations:

1. Logi, a girl of eight, fell from a tree and broke her leg. She was taken to hospital but her parents vowed that if she were cured she would carry *kavady* for three years.
2. From childhood Nadessan suffered from fits and her parents thought he had a "bad spirit". They took him to doctors, soothsayers, temples "always paying, always in debt, but still there was no improvement." At twenty-four, his parents got him married but his attacks continued. When he was twenty-six, he met a friend who asked him to go collecting and giving out invitations for *kavady*. He agreed, but while on his mission he had an attack. His friend there and then burnt a camphor and vowed that if Nadessan got better, he, Nadessan, would take *kavady* for three years, but if not, then he, the friend, would never again do anything for Subrahmanya. That year the "fits left".

The following year Nadessan "took eighty needles in his body". It is not easy for him to carry out his vow this year as he has taken a job as a waiter at a popular White hotel, and finds it difficult to observe the necessary restrictions imposed on behaviour during *kavady*. "I have to serve meat" he complained "and come into contact with people in all conditions of uncleanness. All this works against me." At the same time jobs are scarce and he feels he dare not leave; but he is afraid to postpone the fulfilment of the vow.

3. Chinamma, now 19 years old, started taking *kavady* at the age of five after she had complained of pains in her head. Her parents vowed that she would carry *kavady* till she was twenty-one. In the first year she got the trance, at seven years she "took the tongue needle", and now she takes "needles all over her arms, and five in her face." The trance comes on her at other times as well—when the temple bell rings, when the lamp is lit in the home, when her older sister reads from the holy book; "anything can wake the god in me."
4. A child of 18 months, diagnosed by a doctor to be suffering from nephritis, was taken by her mother to the temple and her mother vowed to carry *kavady* for three years on her behalf.
5. A woman who had been married for seven years and had been under the care of a Health Centre for four years, took the vow that if she became pregnant she would carry *kavady* for five years. That year she found herself pregnant and has been carrying *kavady* for three years. She does not get the trance "but if it comes" she says, "I must accept it".

These cases indicate that *kavady* is carried in fulfilment of a vow, following an illness, or other misfortune; and the vow can be fulfilled either by the patient or somebody closely attached.



### Organisation.

The organisation of *kavady* is in the hands of temple committees who need not themselves be versed in the details of the ritual but see that a suitable priest is appointed. For *kavady*, the priest need not be of priestly caste. Members of the committee assist him if necessary, and the women are generally responsible for the preparation of the ritual food (*prasadhūm*) provided on certain days, and for helping with the decorations.

Devotees pay the temple committee for their participation and are usually provided with their *kavady*; a few people have *kavady* of their own. *Kavady* may be made locally, but the main *kavady*, known as the *koval* (temple) *kavady* is always imported from India, and is decorated with carved figures—usually Subrahmanya on one side and Ganessa, on the other. The payment for the use of a *kavady* varies with its size: for the small *kavady* carried by children the price ranges from 5s. to £1, and for the larger *kavady* from £1 to £3. Only the carrier of the temple *kavady* does not have to pay—he is regarded as performing a public duty. Devotees buy their own needles, which cost from £1 to £5 depending on the size, shape and metal. The “tongue needle” (*nakahur*), often the first to be inserted, is usually of gold and ends in fan shaped segments described by one informant as “a peacock’s tail” (Subrahmanya’s emblem) and by another as his *velu* (spear). Women sometimes carry, instead of wooden *kavady*, the large brass milk bowls (*polkodum*) which they provide themselves. Sometimes two, three and even four members of a family are pledged to carry *kavady* at the same time, but a family prefers to deny itself even essential foods, or run into debt, or pawn what jewellery it has, rather than risk the retribution of an unfulfilled vow. Illness is generally accepted as punishment for sin, and the high cost of offerings is regarded by many as part of the penance necessary as expiation.

### Flag Raising.

*Kavady* opens with a flag raising ceremony

(*kodiatroom*). The flag pole, in the east of the temple yard, generally near a *lingam* (phallic symbol of Siva) stands about 12 to 15 feet high, and has a pointed top to which is attached a rectangular frame divided into nine or sixteen squares by vertical and horizontal slats. These squares have been described as “the planets” or “the powers”. Close to the flag pole is a *minaden* (stone slab or other symbol) representing Irumam, and there are often additional *minaden* and symbols for other deities not directly associated with *kavady*.

Posters and stickers have been circulated in the area of the temple informing the public of the time and occasion, and towards evening a large number of people (from 100 to 300 depending on the area and popularity of the temple) gather for the “opening”. The images have been carefully washed and garlanded, and all the preparations completed.

The priest, traditionally dressed in a *soremum* (*dhoti* in Hindi, i.e. loin cloth) waits in the temple for members of the public to bring offerings of fruit or flowers; in return he bestows blessings. The main devotees, usually conspicuous in yellow or orange robes, circle the temple lighting camphor at each corner and praying. At sunset, the loud blowing of conches announces the beginning of the main ceremony. The priest lights a camphor at the foot of the pole and another on the *minaden* and prays, prostrating himself before each image. An assistant places a ladder against the pole and a young man apparently selected quite arbitrarily from those present,<sup>2</sup> climbs up and washes, or rather anoints, the upper part of the pole with turmeric water, and other sacred substances—milk, rose water, holy ash and dots of red powder.

The flag, previously blessed by the priest in the temple, is brought out on a tray with holy ash and bright flowers and handed to the young man to tie up. Subrahmanya’s flag is always yellow, and usually—except in very poor temples—adorned with his emblem—a peacock or rooster. After further ritual consecration of the pole, the flag is

<sup>2</sup>“Of course you see that he is a decent young fellow”. “Clean boy”.



tied to the top and the onlookers shout "*Arogora*" (one of Siva's many titles of praise) as the musicians ring bells, beat drums, and blow on trumpets.

The priest takes up his position at the base of the pole, and devotees, led by the man who will carry the temple *kavady*, make their devotions. Some prostrate themselves, others stand in meditation (sometimes on one leg), others perform traditional *tapas* (acts of penance), such as bending their knees and holding their ears with the opposite hands then bobbing up and down a set number of times before kneeling or bowing to the image. The priest circles each devotee with a lighted camphor and other offerings to remove from them evil and defilement.

Each devotee takes a vow of abstinence from all "flesh" and contamination with things "unclean" during the period of *kavady*. To signify the vow, the priest ties round the wrist of each, beginning with the *koval kavady* carrier, a bangle of *dharbar* grass (a grass used in many Hindu rituals) or a bangle with a special seed. The ceremony is known as *kaapu katoorangu*—bangle tying.

The people gather in front of the temple again and pray in an atmosphere of gathering excitement. The musicians play loudly on their varied instruments, the priest leads in the chanting of prayers, and the audience gives periodic cries of '*Arogora*'. The night air is heavy with the scent of flowers and the burning of incense. Everything is set for the god to manifest himself.

It is usual for a few of the devotees, particularly the *koval kavady* carrier, to get the trance. The signs are unmistakable. A person's behaviour changes dramatically. I quote the following extract from my notes taken at the Second River Temple:

Lutchmee, a girl of eighteen, (suffering from 'fainting') suddenly begins to tremble. Sticks her tongue out between her teeth and closes her eyes. Shakes her head violently and raises her hands. Her mother unbraids her hair, which falls over her face as she sways and

twists. An old man in white shirt and flannels suddenly swivels round, like twisted elastic then stands abruptly still, tense, panting. The *koval kavady* carrier begins to shake. Things happening quickly. *Koval kavady* has a small group around him. Some one hands him "nail shoes"<sup>3</sup> which he puts on and stamps round like a mechanical doll. The old man now has a tray with ash. Using three middle fingers he marks people's foreheads. People press in on him. He passes his tray to a bystander and takes a baby from one of the women (later learnt it was his sister's) and marks its forehead with the ash then returns the baby, screaming above the din, to mother. Man in striped sports shirt, sophisticated appearance, glides past with a syringa branch and brushes people with it. Goes up to young boy, also devotee who looks at him appealingly. Strokes boy on the head. No luck. Dances off leaving boy standing. Old man gyrates again. Hard to see all that is happening—much noise and swaying and audience mingled with devotees.

It is clear that the behaviour of the trance subjects varies from one individual to the next. Each is allowed apparent freedom of movement and yet they seem aware of the presence of others and refrain from bumping into them or behaving with violence towards them. As soon as a woman gets the trance her hair must be loosened if plaited and any restraining ornaments must be removed for "the spirit must not be tied". Subrahmanya possessed do not speak with words, but in mime and facial expression which are interpreted by kinsmen or the temple assistants. Thus the *koval kavady* carrier had indicated by pointing to his feet when he was ready for the "nail shoes".

On the first night, the trance is restricted and no "needles" are taken; for the people have not yet gone through the necessary period of purification; but sometimes devotees indicate on that night how many needles they will take on the main day and

<sup>3</sup>Wooden soles with huge pointed nails hammered upwards.

also any other particular requests. Those who have the trance attempt to "pass it" to others less fortunate, by touching their foreheads with holy ash, or "laying hands" on them or, as in the case of the young man, by brushing a prospective candidate with a syringa leaf or other object of mystic power. The possessed are credited with the power of healing, and children and adults seek their touch.

The priest decides when the first night's activities should end, and uses various ritual techniques to remove the trance from those who still appear absorbed in it. He may press ash on their heads, or sing hymns, or circle them with lighted camphor, or stroke them with peacock feathers.

Offerings of cooked rice, beans, betel leaf and areca nut (commonly called betel nut) and fresh fruit are laid before each of the temple deities and then all those who are present are given some of the sacred food. Men and women who, during the excitement of the evening, mingled freely, are always fed separately.

The majority of the people return home after the meal, but any devotee who wishes may sleep in the temple in the presence of the deities. An oil lamp must burn for the full period of the ceremony in front of the image of Subrahmanya.

#### *The Fasting.*

For the next ten days, there is a lull in ritual, but this is an essential purifying period for the devotees and is described as "the fasting" (*hoobavaasem* in Tamil, *prathna* in Hindi).

The devotees must bathe every morning, and sleep alone at night and they may not crop their hair (formerly they were not allowed to shave), clip their nails, eat in other people's homes nor come into contact with the unclean e.g. menstruating women, or families in which there has recently been a death. Should they have to go out from their homes, they must leave the bangle signifying the vow near the house lamp or in the temple. Their meals are frugal, consisting of milk and fruit once a day, and a vegetarian meal of cooked foods in the

evening. If the temple is near enough, they may go there to "break the fast" and pray before the images, which are bathed and freshly garlanded each day. Food at the temple is provided by temple members and cooked by women of the committee in special pots. Offerings of the food are always placed first before the deities; the remainder is divided among the worshippers. The doors of the temple are open day and night for people to pray and bring offerings and usually musicians come, and if they cannot attend children are told to play on flutes and beat the gongs. If the temple is too far, devotees pray at their own homes and, on their own, eat food specially cooked for them.

The majority of devotees observe these restrictions most rigorously, for to do otherwise is to invite trouble, and cases have been cited to prove the validity of this belief.

#### *The Chariot Procession.*

The day before the climax of the ceremony, usually on the ninth day after the flag-raising, the image of the deity is taken round the area of each temple in a special chariot (*ther*). The chariots, normally stored in a back room of the temple, are entirely of wood, and must not have been contaminated with the touch of leather. They are of many shapes and sizes and for the occasion are brightly decorated with flowers, tinsel and coloured paper. Before they leave, they are displayed under temporary canopies (*mundalkodi*) specially erected and adorned with *dharbar* grass, banana leaves and other greenery. In front of the image, the priest puts a tray with holy ash (*worrit*), and various offerings in front of a brass bowl with fire lit from the lamp of the temple. Each temple has a main or "big" chariot (*peri ther*) and one or more "small" chariots (*sina ther*) but not all are taken round the area.

The chariot is usually drawn by ardent supporters of the ceremony (not the devotees on this day) or it may be driven round on a lorry. Its departure is heralded with cries of 'Arogora', the ringing of bells and the chanting of prayers. Lighted camphor is laid on the road as the procession moves off,





PLATE I

*Young Kavady carrier.*

[Photo: Mick Padayachee]

and again at each stop made on the journey when people from nearby homes make devotions. They bring fruit, flowers and camphor and after a small portion of each offering is taken for the god, the remainder is returned with blessings to the donor. Money for the temple is also collected. When finally the chariot is brought back to the temple it is heavily laden with offerings.

The priest and his assistants see to the preparation of the *kavady* objects. They wash them thoroughly and weave ribbon-like slats of bamboo or palm between the framework. (See Plate I.) When this is done they painstakingly adorn the structure with flowers, mainly marigolds and gallardias (yellow is the ritual colour) tying each head separately to the slats. The temple images are again freshly garlanded, and the whole temple purified with water and incense.

#### *The Main Day.*

The main day, the tenth, is described in English as the "high festival", or the "big day". The roadway to the temple is decorated with clusters of banana palms and mango leaves, and inside there are lights, garlands and incense. Devotees arrive early in the morning, each accompanied by a few people, and this small group, composed mainly of relatives, and not the individual, is the conspicuous devotional unit. Children are generally accompanied by parents; men by their fathers, mothers and brothers; wives by their husbands and their people. Nearly every devotee has in his or her group someone who knows the hymns, routine and expectations.

The Secretary of the Temple committee calls out the name and address of each devotee and indicates his or her *kavady* or *polkodum*. The number varies with the size and importance of the temple. The following is an indication in terms of age and sex of devotees at 3 temples in 1955:

	Adults		Children		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Temple 1 ..	48	12	8	8	76
" 2 ..	36	24	7	5	72
" 3 ..	21	20	17	16	74
	105	56	32	29	222

The next stage of the ritual takes place at the nearest river or stream. Before picking up their burdens, each carrier lights a camphor and prays, and the priest performs *devrathnum*—the ritual circling with holy substances and prayers to remove evil for the *kavady* and the chariots. Music is again essential and a public address system is installed in most of the temples in addition to the temple musicians, and plays both secular and religious records.

Towards noon, the procession led by the musicians and followed by the priest, devotees and temple officials, circle the temple and make a prayer before leaving for the river. Though at this stage some begin to go into trance, it is not encouraged and soon "passes". The chariots, laden with ritual ingredients, are pulled by devotees not yet in trance.

The procession must cross the river and put the *kavady* in a cleared space on the opposite bank. (If the river is too far, a hose pipe has been substituted; people must go through the ritual cleansing of running water.) After a ritual wash, the devotees return to the final preparation of their burdens. The carriers put on special clothing—the women wear saris usually of yellow, the men, most of whom are exposed to the waist, usually wear the *soremum* over shorts or trunks. All have the bangle, and many wear a traditional rosary with a single bead; the *koyal kavady* is distinguished by a rosary of six-faced beads.

The *kavady* are arranged in an outer square with the chariots; within the square, in positions laid down by the priest, are the *polkodum* and various purifying substances, leaving a special place for an essential preliminary rite—the *egium* (*jagnam*), sacred fire ritual. The *kavady* and *polkodum* are all anointed with sacred unguents—turmeric water, rose water, sandalwood paste, milk, sweet oil or sometimes honey. Each ointment is washed off with fresh water before the next is put on, and eventually sacred ash is placed on the sides in the sign of Siva and marked with red dots. Additional garlands are woven round the *kavady*, banana leaves and *dharbar* grass are tied to the frame,





PLATE II

*Man in trance blessing people with ash. Note tongue needles and hooks with garlands.*

[Photo: Mick Padayachee]

limes are pierced on the spikes and occasional peacock feathers. Small brass bowls are filled with milk, and then neatly closed with banana leaves smoked over a flame and forming water-proof coverings. The bowl is attached to the lower end of the *kavady*, in front of which is placed a banana leaf with fruits, betel nut and betel leaf and a brass tray with the individual's requirements of needles, coconuts and other items. The men who prepare the *kavady* items have cloths bound over their mouths and sometimes over their noses as well, to prevent their spittle or even their breath, from polluting the "god". They are not supposed to speak during their work, and communicate by gesture.

While the *kavady* are being decorated, the priest makes his preparation for the fire ritual. He begins as usual with a prayer to Ganessa, whose image, a small cone of turmeric, he places on a large banana leaf together with incense, rice, cut bananas, betel leaf and nuts. As he prays, he makes offerings of marigold petals. Next he prepares a *kolsam*, symbol of "divinity", "life", "the supreme"<sup>4</sup>; he takes for this purpose a brass vessel, ties round a white cloth, and places a coconut on mango leaves in the open mouth and adorns it with flowers. Nearby he makes a rectangle, divided into nine or sixteen squares, and in each square he drops a little rice. The squares are the "planets" or "powers", similar to those on the top of the sacred flag pole. Besides this ritual design, evident in many other ceremonies, the priest places trays of offerings of honey, milk, rose water, ash, fruit and flowers. He is then ready to perform the *egium*. The fire is started with a light brought from the holy temple lamp, and the wood is of the mango tree. All the devotees gather round, with the *koval kavady* carrier facing the priest, and the assistant hands out mango twigs dipped in ghee for each to drop onto the flames. Even the smallest child is made to do this, and to bring its hands together after in the gesture of prayer and to perform a rite to dispel evil by cir-

cling the fire with a tray on which is a burning camphor.

Once the *egium* is over, the devotees return to their burdens, put the final garlands round their necks and wait for the priest to tell the musicians when they must begin. The first piercing sound on the wind instruments (*nagasurum* and *thothee*) usually has an immediate and startling effect. Many devotees begin to show the symptoms of the oncoming trance, and those who will carry their burdens without the trance share in the tension and excitement of the crowd.

The first person to get the trance is not necessarily the *koval kavady* carrier; no one knows who will first be chosen for the "sublime act of self-mortification" (in the words of a leading *kavady* supporter). In one instance, the first person was a woman spectator who grabbed two clubs lying in front of the *koval kavady* carrier and began beating herself fiercely, shouting the title of the god. The initial act in many cases of possession is the taking of the *nakahur* (tongue needle), described by some as the spear of Subrahmanya, which is pierced vertically through the tongue. A second "needle" is often inserted horizontally from cheek to cheek. Thereafter, arms and body may be adorned with hooks to which are attached garlands, coconuts and little vessels of milk. See Plate II.

The following extract is from notes by Professor Max Marwick taken at Second River, in January, 1954.

"1.50 p.m. A well built young man in a yellow *dhoti* begins breathing explosively (gives the impression he's doing a breathing exercise). Then his eyes swing from left to right. Shortly afterwards, the band starts up, the clarinets being especially noticeable. Peacock feathers are placed on the leader. At 1.54 a young man in a lemon *dhoti* goes into a trance, dancing with his tongue out and his arms upwards. His attendants (male) catch him and drive in a tongue pin, placing the bottom part on his tongue so that it falls diagonally across his mouth. He dances off with a

<sup>4</sup>A *kolsam* is also important in marriage and death ceremonies.





PLATE III

*Man with hooks in his back drawing chariot.*

[Photo: Mick Padayachee]

stick. A man in a blue shirt and dark trousers sings hymns for a young man in a pale yellow *dhoti* who takes three or four minutes to go into a trance. When he does, they stick needles into his forehead. At 1.59 another man (yellow *dhoti*) puts out his tongue and a tongue pin is stuck through. The one in lemon *dhoti* now has hooks in his chest and a spike through both cheeks over the ends of which is fixed a U-shaped piece of silver wire with eyes in its ends to slip over the spike.

"There are now four or five young men with tongue pin in and hooks in various parts of the body. On some of these are hung limes and carnations and limes and marigolds. One has pendants symmetrically arranged on back and front of arms and in his back. A boy of twelve to fourteen has tongue pin and hooks in his back. Women prostrate themselves before those in trance. We see tongue pins and hooks being inserted. There is no sign of pain in expression on face which give a feeling of serenity . . . The only woman who appears to be in trance (at this stage) sways and dances—difficult to say which—quietly with a blank expression on her face. The woman has a tongue pin (gold) and five pins in the forehead. There are two young men (probably under 20) who have not gone into a trance. They stand quietly with rather strained expressions on their faces. A woman ("probably his mother" according to our assistant) stands next to one of them with her palms together . . . The man with pendants now has seven brass bowls (with milk) suspended in a row from upper arms and chest"

Though attendants sometimes hold the hands of the devotee during the insertion of needles, etc., there is never resistance to the operation, no wincing and no blood visible on the skin. The following medical observation was made by Dr Maureen Dale of the University of Natal who attended a *kavady* in 1954:

"During the ceremony it was observed

that there was no bleeding from any of the puncture wounds. This was particularly noteworthy in the case of the man who was pulling the cart (chariot) with large hooks piercing the skin of the lumbar region of the back. The introduction of the hooks into the skin and the piercing of the tongue with thin metal stakes did not appear to be painful in any of the five or six individuals observed."

All possible means are invoked to spread the trance. The musicians blow loudly on any wind instruments they possess and beat *woodika* (drums). Devotees who have the trance wander among the crowd trying to communicate their power and bestow blessings. Those not yet affected often stand deep in concentration and meditation while their assistants pray from the sacred books.

When the worshippers are at their highest pitch of identification, the priest directs the return to the temple. Each devotee raises his or her *kavady* on to a shoulder, or balances the *polkodum* on the head. Generally the left side is considered the man's and the right the woman's, and the left hand is "unclean" and the right "clean". In *kavady* "man or woman doesn't matter". In the front of the procession comes the *koval kavady* carrier and the child devotees, and the chariot puller brings up the rear. Assistants sprinkle rose water or milk on the tongues of devotees in trance and drop water and light camphor at their feet. Bystanders prostrate themselves and supplicate blessings, and some devotees pour milk from their bowls into eagerly outstretched hands, and the recipients drink it or rub it over their persons.

The procession circles the temple three times, then the devotees place their *kavady* in front of the flag post and go inside to the priest who is waiting to remove the instruments. When he has done so, assistants rub holy ash on the bodies. After having bowed low before the image, the devotees who show no signs of exhaustion, go outside to join the crowd. They partake of their first cooked meal—again vegetarian—since the previous evening.



### *The Irumam pooja.*

The next day the flag is taken down and the Irumam *pooja* is held. The ceremony resembles that of the first evening when the flag was raised, but there is no repetition of the 'bangle tying' and, instead of Subrahmanya entering the devotee, Irumam takes control. One devotee in particular is identified with him.

Subrahmanya speaks only with signs, Irumam speaks also with words. Sometimes these are intelligible to all, sometimes they are cryptic and comprehensible only through a medium. Irumam passes judgement on the participants and is consulted by people who are in trouble. If any of the devotees are suffering from their experience he will diagnose the cause—non-observance of the necessary abstinences, or a deliberate attempt by persons hostile to the individual to "trick" him, or punishment for misdemeanour. The sufferer must be cured by purification and holy substances such as ash or lime.

In 1953 a *koval kavady* carrier fell ill the day after the main day, and Irumam that night announced that a section of the people hostile to *kavady* had "doped" him by putting something dirty in his milk. The priest called the sufferer and his wife into the temple and gave them sacred ash and chanted special Sanskrit *mantra* over them. The mother of the sufferer was also present and said angrily "If my son is to be punished in this way when carrying out god's work, I will not let him perform again."

For the next two days people may still come to the temple, and some may even get the trance but the *kavady* is considered over, and on the thirteenth night, after prayers and a last ritual meal at the temple, the devotees are allowed to resume their normal lives.

They claim that they feel a great sense of peace and well-being after the ceremonies; psychologically they are 'pure', and physically, 'healed'. Commenting on the physiological effect, Dr Dale states:

"The participants were examined again

within five to six days of the ceremony. One individual had had three metal stakes driven through his tongue and had also had numerous hooks with limes hanging from them driven through the skin of his chest, back and upper arm. The puncture wounds in the skin were visible but showed no signs of inflammatory reaction and appeared to be healing. There were no puncture wounds detectable on cursory examination of the tongue. The second individual was the man who had drawn the cart by means of large hooks through the skin in the lumbar region of the back. The cart had been pulled for some distance over uneven ground and its jolting had exerted an uneven drag and frequent jerking on the hooks through the skin. On examination of this skin, only the healing puncture wounds were seen—there was no reaction round the wounds and no oedema or bruising of the tissue in the area."

### *Kavady and the Community.*

The pattern of the *kavady* ceremony is repeated in numerous other ceremonies to different deities. The opening is publicly marked by the raising of a flag and the making of prayers and offerings to the selected deity. The main participants then vow to remain "pure" or ritually "clean" for a set period. Special rituals are enacted on each day, and the climax is marked by public identification of devotees with the deity. In all the ceremonies the deity worshipped symbolises the power of good over evil and temptation.

The majority of Hindu do *not* get the trance, nor take part in *kavady*, and the attitudes towards both vary. Without the trance, *kavady* is accepted as a sectional devotion, a particular means of fulfilling the vow (*vaaku*) which is a generally accepted technique of thanksgiving, and expiation of sin.

The trance belongs to a different level of experience, and the attitudes towards it range from acceptance and intense admiration to rejection and disapproval. We have



PLATE IV

*Returning from river. Note chariot in right foreground.*

[Photo: Mick Padayachee]



seen the homage paid to the possessed by the believers; in sharp contrast is condemnation of trance as "nonsense", a "shameful exhibition", "a mocking of religion". Disapproval is most strongly ex-

pressed by Vedantic scholars and by people who are politically as well as scholastically sophisticated. People with academic education alone do not necessarily discredit the trance cults.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>A full analysis of the trance and other religious experiences appears in my book *Hindus in Durban* (in process of publication).

# TONOMORPHOLOGY OF THE TSONGA NOUN<sup>1</sup>

P-D. COLE-BEUCHAT\*

## SYNOPSIS

Each syllable in Tsonga carries a toneme, either high or low. For disyllabic noun stems there are four possible combinations of these tonemes, i.e. four possible tonomorphemes. For trisyllabic stems there are eight possibilities and for quadrisyllabic stems sixteen. Not all such theoretical possibilities seem to occur. The basic tonomorpheme of a Tsonga noun, from which other tonomorphemes can be derived, is that of the noun used as subject of a verb, and preceding that verb. This basic tonomorpheme also occurs when the noun, as object, follows a verb whose tonomorphemes are all low, or when it is object of the verb and is followed by an adjective, demonstrative, possessive or other modifier. A noun separated from the verb by another noun also has the basic tonomorpheme, unless the first noun is itself followed by a modifier. Two other series of tonomorphemes exist: their occurrence is similarly determined by the position and/or environment of the noun in the sentence. After a negative verb a noun and its modifiers assume "all high" tonomorphemes. Locatives behave like uninflected nouns, as they too assume four different tonomorphemes, depending on their environment. Deverbative nouns retain the basic tonomorphemes of the verbal radicals from which they are derived. The tonomorphemes of diminutive nouns can be predicted from the basic tonomorphemes of the stems from which they are derived. Apparently irregular nouns behave regularly tonologically if their prefix and stem are treated as one tone bearing unit.

### 1.0. Introduction.

Tsonga has two significant tonal levels, represented by the high (H) and the low (L) tonemes (phonemes of pitch). Allo-tones are not discussed in this paper. Each syllable has one toneme which is carried by the vowel, except in some dialectal variants such as /m̩fanà/ (boy), instead of the more common /mufanà/, where the prefix is a syllabic nasal carrying a toneme. In this paper a vowel is left unmarked if it carries a high toneme; a low toneme is represented by a grave accent over the vowel. Thus /a/ indicates that the syllable is high-toned, and /à/ that it is low-toned.

1.1. Tsonga noun prefixes are monosyllabic, basically of CV structure<sup>2</sup>; class 1a prefix is /ɸ-/<sup>3</sup>, and classes 5 and 9 have zero allomorphs (See Table I). The nominal

stems may have one syllable, (CV), two syllables, (C)VCV, or three or more syllables. The majority of Tsonga noun stems are disyllabic and those of more than three syllables are comparatively rare. Such longer stems result from (a) re-duplication or compounding of shorter stems, (b) derivation from long verbal radicals, or (c) from suffixation of the diminutive suffixes /-ana/ or /-nyana/ onto shorter stems.

1.2. Tonologically the prefix and the stem of nouns behave independently. In some cases the prefix changes from its basic low tone to high, whereas the stem retains its basic combination of tonemes (i.e. tonomorpheme). Therefore, these two morphemes are usually described independently with regard to tone. As will soon be apparent, the tone pattern of the noun is determined

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<sup>1</sup>The data contained in this paper was gathered during the period 1956-1959 from many Tsonga speakers from the Xikumbana, Xirhindzeni, Bilene Macia, Xiluvana, Tzaneen, Louis Trichardt and Elim regions. Their assistance, in particular that of Messrs S. W. P. Mhlongo, O. Mucache, A. Messano and J. Ngobeni is gratefully acknowledged. This research was made possible by a generous grant received from the University of the Witwatersrand Council Research Committee.

<sup>2</sup>C stands for any consonant or any consonant margin to a syllable, and V stands for vowel.

<sup>3</sup>The Meinhof numbering of noun classes is followed here



TABLE I

## Tsonga Noun Prefixes

- |  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. /mù- ~ n'w- ∞ N- ∞ m-/ <sup>4</sup> | 2. /vâ- ∞ v-/   |
| 1a. /ø-/                               | 2a. /va-/       |
| 3. /mù- ∞ N-/                          | 4. /mì- ∞ m-/   |
| 5. /rì- ∞ ø- ∞ r-/                     | 6. /mà-/        |
| 7. /xì- ∞ x-/                          | 8. /swì- ∞ sw-/ |
| 9. /yìN- ∞ N-/                         | 10. /tìN-/      |
| 11. /rì-/                              |                 |
| 14. /vù- ∞ by-/                        |                 |
| 15. /kù- ∞ k-/                         |                 |
| 16. /ha- ∞ he-/                        |                 |
| 17. /ku-/                              |                 |

mainly by such syntactical considerations as position of that noun in relation to the verb and/or its immediate constituent relationship with other words.

1.2.1. The syllabic noun prefixes are basically low-toned, except in the case of cl. 2a /va-/ which is invariably high-toned. With this exception, the noun prefixes of all classes, may, in different tonological environments, all remain low (Prefix L), or all become high (Prefix H), or neutral (Prefix N). Prefix N means that the prefix is high when the initial syllable of the stem in tonomorpheme A is low, and low when the initial syllable of the stem is high, following a principle of dissimilation. Thus:

Prefix L	Prefix H	Prefix N	Stem Tonomor- pheme A
L	H	L	H
L	H	H	L
L	H	L	HH
L	H	L	HL
L	H	H	LL
L	H	H	LH etc.

1.2.2. Monosyllabic stems may carry either a high or a low tone. Disyllabic stems may be HH, HL, LL, or LH. For trisyllabic stems there are eight possible

16 theoretical possibilities exist, for quinquisyllabics, 32, etc. Although there are so combinations of the high and low tonemes, so that there are eight possible tonomorphemes: HHH, HHL, HLH, HLL, LLL, LLH, LHL, and LHH; for quadrisyllabics, many theoretical possibilities, not all have been found so far, especially for quadrisyllabic and longer stems, and it is probable that the language does not make use of them all. It is interesting to note that for quadrisyllabic and longer stems there is much dialectal and idiolectal variation in regard to basic tonomorphemes, a fact which further complicates the study of such stems.

## 2.0. *Tonomorphology of the Stem of Uninflected Nouns.*

By "basic tonomorpheme" of the stem is meant the tonomorpheme from which all other tonomorphemes that occur can be predicted. In Tsonga, the basic tonomorpheme of a noun is that which occurs when that noun is used, without any modifier<sup>5</sup> following it, as subject of the verb. All stems with the same basic tonomorpheme behave identically, except for a few nouns such as /musi/ (smoke), /vuswa/ (hard, cooked ground-up maize), /mutwa/ (thorn). Irregularity in their tonal behaviour can be attributed to historical factors (see 8.0).

<sup>4</sup>N is used to represent the homorganic nasal which fuses with the initial consonant of the noun stem to form with it a new phoneme. The basic tone of the prefixes is indicated in this table (see 1.2.1).

<sup>5</sup>The term "Modifier" is used here to refer to the words that follow a noun and influence it tonologically. Demonstratives, adjectives, relatives, possessives, enumeratives, quantitatives, the inclusive, and in some dialects locatives, influence the tonemes of a preceding noun.

TABLE II  
Tonomorphemes of the Uninflected Noun Stem<sup>6</sup>

A	B	C	D	E
H	H	H	H	H
L	L	H	H	H
HH	HH	HH	HH	HH~HL'
HL	HL	HH	HH	HL
LL	HL	HH	HH	HH
LH	LH	LH	HH	LH
HHH	HHH	HHH	HHH	HHH~HHL'
HHL	HHL	HHH	HHH	HHL
HLH	HLH	HHH~HLH	HHH	HLH
*HLL				
LLL	HHL	HHH	HHH	HHH
*LLH				
LHL	LHL	LHH	HHH	LHL
LHH	LHH	LHH	HHH	LHH
HHHL	HHHL	HHHH	HHHH	HHHL
HHLH	HHLH	HHLH	HHHH	HHLH
HLHL	HLHL	HLHH	HHHH	HLHL
LLLL	HHHL	HHHH	HHHH	HHHH
LHLH	LHLH	LHLH	HHHH	LHLH

The tonomorphemes of nouns used as subject of the sentence have been chosen because they constitute the most diversified set. For example two-syllable nouns used as subject of the verb may have any one of the tonal patterns: HH, HL, LL, LH; but when used as object of the verb, and not followed by a Modifier, only the patterns HH, HL or LH occur. In such circumstances one cannot tell whether HL is derived from an original LL or HL.

2.1.1: The basic tonomorphemes, listed under A in Table II, and henceforth called the A tonomorphemes, occur in the

following circumstances:

The A tonomorphemes are used if the noun is subject of the sentence, whether followed or not by one of the following modifiers: adjective, relative, demonstrative, possessive, quantitative, inclusive (forms meaning "all") and most enumeratives.<sup>8</sup> Henceforth these modifiers will be referred to as "Modifier(s) I". Prefix L is used. [L-A ±MI]<sup>9</sup> (see 1.2.1).

*/Vànhù vatrha màsin'winl/* (L). The people work in the fields.<sup>10</sup>

*/Tìhòmu tidya màdyelwenl/* (LH). Cattle eat in the pastures.

<sup>6</sup>Only the tonomorphemes whose behaviour has been ascertained with certainty are listed here. However, many tonomorphemes not listed here have been examined, and they all conform to the rules given in this article.

<sup>7</sup>The alternative occurs in the dialects of Portuguese East Africa.

<sup>8</sup>i.e. those with the following stems: /-nharhù/ (three), /-mbirhi/ (two), /-n'wana/ and /-n'wanyanà/ (other), /-ngani?/ (how many, how much?), /-mbe/ (different).

<sup>9</sup>List of abbreviations and symbols used in the summary patterns and in Table III:

V = verb (positive or negative)

neg. V = negative verb

MI = Modifier I

L = Prefix L

N = Prefix N

A, B, C, D = stand for nouns with the A, B, C and D tonomorphemes respectively.

/ = or.

pos. V = positive verb

VL = "all low" verb

MII = Modifier II

H = Prefix H

N/L = either Prefix N or Prefix L is used

abs. = absolute pronoun

± = with or without

SC = subject concord

<sup>10</sup>The noun illustrating the point under discussion is in italic type. At the end of the example, its basic (A) tonomorpheme is indicated in parentheses.



/Vatàtanà vatàfamba/ (LHL). The men (fathers) will go.

/Mùdyondzisi wadyondzisa/ (HHH). The teacher is teaching.

/Xihòntlòvìlā xichavisa vana/ (LLLL). The giant of the country frightens the children.

/Tìngùvù hikwatò tiomile/ (LL). All the clothes are dry.

/Swisiwàna leswinyingi swafa/ (HLH). Many paupers are dying.

2.1.2. The A tonomorphemes are used when the noun, as object of the verb, immediately follows that verb, and is followed itself by a Modifier I. Prefix N is used. However, if the noun is preceded by a verb bearing only low tonemes, prefix L is used. [pos. V+N-A+MI] or [V<sup>L</sup>+L-A+MI].

/Ndzivona tìngùvù tatàtanà/ (LL). I see the clothes of my father.

/Varhandza n'wana wawèna/ (HH). They like your child.

/Vavona mapàpìlā layòtala/ (LLL). They see many papers.

/Ndzixàvā tìbukù lèti/ (HL). I buy these books.

/Hixàvā tìngùvù tosasaka/ (LL). We buy nice clothes.

From the last two examples it can be seen that Prefix L is used if the noun is preceded by a verb bearing only low tonemes. In the dialects of Portuguese East Africa,<sup>11</sup> the prefixes are always low if the noun is followed by a Modifier I, irrespective of the tones of the preceding verb. [V<sup>L</sup>/V+L-A+MI]. Thus:

/Hivone tìngùvù letìnyingi/ (LL). We saw many clothes.

/Ndzilava tìmbàlèlò tìmbirhi/ (LLL). I want two laths.

2.1.3. A noun, followed or not by any Modifier, and immediately following a verb bearing only low tonemes, has the A tonomorphemes and Prefix L. [V<sup>L</sup>+L-A±MI].

/Hitàxèngà vānhù/ (L). We shall deceive the people.

/Mitàkùrà rìhlèlò/ (LL). Ye will find a winnowing basket.

/Ndzixàvā mālāmùlā/ (LHL). I buy oranges.

/Hixàvā rìhlèlò lerìtsongo/ (LL). We buy a small winnowing basket.

ct. /Ndzirhandza mālāmùlā/ (LHL). I like oranges.

2.1.4. The A tonomorphemes are used with a noun (secondary object) separated from the verb by another noun (primary object), provided this other noun is not followed by a Modifier I, i.e. provided the primary object does not have the A tonomorphemes itself. Prefix L is used, whether the secondary object is followed or not by a Modifier. [pos. V+B+L-A±MI].

/Ndzinyika n'angā tìngùvù/ (LL). I give the doctor clothes.

/Hixàvèlā n'wana swiàmbàlò/ (LLL). We buy the child some clothes.

/Hikhomela māsòchā mähanci yawòna/ (HL). We hold for the soldiers their horses.

/Vanyikā mamanā xìkòmù xolehà/ (LL). They give mother the long hoe.

In the dialect spoken in the Letaba district in the Transvaal, as an alternative construction, tonomorpheme B (see Table II) is used for the second noun, provided it is not followed by a Modifier I, if the last toneme of the primary object is high. If the final toneme is low, however, the A tonomorphemes are used for the secondary object. Thus:

/Vaxavelā mamanā tìngùvù/ (LL). They buy mother clothes.

/Hìnyikā mālùmè fòròkò/ (LLL). We give my maternal uncle a fork.

but

/Vanyike xisiwàna xìkomù/ (LL). They gave the pauper a hoe.

/Hìnyika mùnwì tìngùvù/ (LL). We give the drinker clothes.

If the second noun is followed by a Modifier I, it bears the A tonomorphemes, whatever the tonomorpheme of the primary object may be. [V+B/A+A+MI].

<sup>11</sup>The dialects studied to date in Portuguese East Africa (P.E.A.), are those around Xikhumbana and Xirhindzeni (125 miles north of Lourenço Marques) and Bilene Macia (90 miles north of Lourenço Marques).

/Hinyika mùnwì *tinguvù* tayèna/ (LL). We give the drinker his clothes.

2.1.5. In the impersonal verbal construction using a subject concord of class 17, the noun following the verb (it is the semantic although not the grammatical subject of the verb) has the tonomorphemes A, with prefix L, in some of the Transvaal dialects. [ku-V+L-A±MI].

/Kufamba *vànhi* emutini/ (L). There go people in the village, i.e. There are people walking in the village.

/Kutirha *tintombi*/ (LH). There work the girls, i.e. It is the girls who are working.

2.1.6. Under certain circumstances a noun does not have A tonomorphemes, but what have been termed here B tonomorphemes (see Table II). B tonomorphemes differ from A tonomorphemes only in the case of basically "all low" stems. Prefix N is usually used with the B tonomorphemes. The latter are used in the following circumstances:

2.2.1. With a noun-object immediately following the verb, provided that the verb is not "all low", or that the noun is not followed by any Modifier. [pos. V+N-B].

/Ndzitiva *xìTsonga*/ (HH). I know Tsonga.

/Mbyana, ayiluma *mufana*/ (HL). The dog was biting the boy.

/Vachava *magandlati*/ (LLL). They fear the waves.

/Xihlangì xirila *ngöpfu*/ (LL). The baby is crying a lot.<sup>12</sup>

2.2.2. When the primary object following a verb which has two objects has A or C tonomorphemes (see 2.1.2, 2.1.3, and 2.3.0), the secondary object has the B tonomorphemes and prefix N, unless it is itself followed by a Modifier. [pos. V+A/C+N-B].

/Vanyike *xikòxà* lèxi *tinguvù*/ (LL). They gave this old person clothes.

/Ndzixàvelà *mamanà musi*/ (L). I buy mother a pestle.

/Hitànyika hosi yahina *tihòmu*/ (LH). We shall give our chief some cattle.

/Vabyele xihòntlòvilà lexinene *mahungu-ndlelà*/ (LLLL). They told the good giant the rumours.

2.2.3. In the P.E.A. dialects and in the dialect spoken near Tzaneen in the Transvaal, a noun which immediately follows a verb incorporating a subject concord of class 17, has the B tonomorphemes (ct. 2.1.5). [ku-V+N-B].

/Kuetlele *xihlangì*/ (LL). There sleeps the baby, i.e. It is the baby who is sleeping.

/Kufike *mùbohwa*/ (HLH). There arrived a prisoner, i.e. A prisoner arrived.

/Kutirha *muchayeri*/ (LLL). There works the driver, i.e. It is driver who is working.

2.2.4. If a verb has three nouns following it, i.e. three objects, and the first two nouns have no Modifiers following them, the third noun stem will have the B tonomorphemes, with Prefix N: Such constructions, however, are very rare in Tsonga. [V+B+A+B].

/Ndzinyikela n'angà *xikòxà xikomù*/ (LL). I give for the doctor to the old person a hoe, i.e. I give the old person a hoe on behalf of the doctor.

If the primary and/or secondary objects have a Modifier, the third object no longer has the B tonomorphemes, but the A ones. It also has the A tonomorphemes if followed by a Modifier I. This situation of two or three objects to one verb presents an interesting case of tonal dissimilation:

Primary object	Secondary object	Tertiary object
B	A	B
A (+Modifier I)	B	A
A (+Modifier I)	A (+Modifier I)	B
A (+Modifier I)	A (+Modifier I)	A (+Modifier I)

<sup>12</sup>/ngöpfu/ (much), /mùndzùkù/ (tomorrow), and many other "adverbs" behave tonologically like nouns.



Only if brought about by the presence of a Modifier can two tonomorphemes belonging to the same series follow one another.

2.2.5. A noun, as subject or object of the verb, preceded by an absolute pronoun, has the B tonomorphemes and Prefix N, unless it is followed by a Modifier. [abs. +N-B].

/Vòna *vanhù* àvatirhi/ (L). As for the people they are not working.

/Hina *vàfanà* àhirhandzi kusweka/ (HL). As for us boys we do not like cooking.

/Xòna *xiambalò* xihandzukilè/ (LLL). As for the garment it is torn.

/Vadyondzisa vòna *vàfanà*/ (HL). They teach them, the boys that is.

/Ndzixàvisà ròna *rihlèlò*/ (LL). I sell it, the winnowing basket that is.

/Hixòna *xiambalò*/ (LLL). It is it, the garment that is.

ct.

/Ndzixàvisà *rihlèlò*/ (LL). I sell the winnowing basket (see 2.1.3).

but

/Vaxavisà ròna *rihlèlò* leròsaseka/ (LL).

They sell it, the nice winnowing basket that is (A tonomorpheme).

/Tòna *tin'àngà* letinine tadyondzisa/ (LL).

As for the good doctors they are teaching (A tonomorpheme).

/Hixòna *xiambalò* xamìna/ (LLL). It is my garment, it is.

In the P.E.A. dialects, in the last two examples Prefix L is used instead of Prefix N.

If the absolute pronoun follows the noun, the tonomorphemes of the latter are not determined by the presence of the pronoun, but by the position occupied by the noun in the sentence. The basic LH tones of the pronoun are affected by a final low tone of the preceding noun.

/Vàfanà vòna vatrira/ (HL). As for the boys they are working.

/Xiambalò xòna xihandzukilè/ (LLL). As for the garment it is torn.

/Ixiambalo xòna/ (LLL). It is a garment, it is (E tonomorpheme).

2.3.0. The C tonomorphemes differ from the A ones as shown in Table II. In at least one of the Transvaal dialects there is an irregular change: HLH > HHH. This is shown to be an irregularity by LHLH, HHLH and LHHHLH which do not change even in that dialect. In the P.E.A. dialects HLH remains unchanged. The C tonomorphemes occur in the following cases:

2.3.1. If a noun is followed by the enumerative stem /-n'we/ (one),<sup>13</sup> with a high-toned concord, the C tonomorphemes are always used, whatever the position of the noun or its function may be in the sentence. If the noun follows an absolute pronoun, but is followed by a Modifier II, the C tonomorphemes are used. Prefix N is used. [pos. V+N-C+MII] and [abs. N-C+MII].

/Mùnwi un'we àngachavisi/ (H). One drunkard is not frightening.

/Mùrisi un'we ubalekile/ (HH). One shepherd has run away.

/Valavala rin'we rixongile/ (HHHL). One colour is pretty.

/Kutàfamba xikoxa xin'we/ (LL). There will go one old person, i.e. One old person will go.

/Ndzivona *gandlati* rin'we/ (LLL). I see one wave.

/Hitànyika n'àngà *nguvu* yin'we/ (LL). We shall give the doctor one cloth.

/Hitànyika n'ànga yin'we *nguvù*/ (LL). We shall give one doctor the cloth.

/Hitànyika n'ànga yin'we *nguvu* yin'we/ (LL, LL). We shall give one doctor one cloth.

/Ndzixàvisà ròna *rihlelo* rin'we/ (LL). I sell it, the one winnowing basket that is.

/Hixòna *xiambalo* xin'we/ (LLL). It is one garment, it is.

In the dialect spoken in the Letaba district, alternatively the B tonomorphemes may be used instead of the C ones. However, this only occurs (a) when the allomorph /-n'wè/ with low-toned concords, is used or (b) after a verbal form whose tonomorpheme is "all low". So far, this alternative using the B

<sup>13</sup>/-n'weo--n'wè/ or any form that influences the noun in the same way as /-n'weo--n'wè/, is hereafter called Modifier II.

tonomorphemes has been found in one example only for the P.E.A. dialects.

/Ndzivona *bukù* yin'wè/ (HL). I see one book, or /Ndzivona *buku* yin'we/.

/Ndzitakùmà *xisiwàna* xin'wè/ (HLH). I shall find one pauper.

2.3.2. In the Tsonga dialects of P.E.A., all locatives derived from nouns act as Modifier II: they cause a preceding noun to assume the C tonomorphemes. However, any pronoun corresponding to one of the locative noun classes, any adverb derived from a qualificative stem by prefixation of /ka-/ or /swi-/ , or any manner adverb with the prefixal morphemes /na- ∞ ni-/ (and, with), /ha- ∞ hi-/ (by means of), will not affect the preceding noun which will have the B tonomorphemes. In the Tsonga dialects of the Transvaal, a noun followed by any type of adverb has the B tonomorphemes.

/Vandzinyika *tinguvu* exitolo/ (LL). They give me clothes in the shop (P.E.A.).<sup>14</sup>

/Ndzivona *gandlati* lwandle/ (LLL). I see a wave in the sea (P.E.A.).

/Ndzivonà *tàtana* ndzhutini/ (LHL). I see my father in the shade (P.E.A.).

• /Hitwa *mufambisiwa* endlèleni/ (HHLH). We hear the person who is led, on the road (P.E.A.).

/Vanyika n'wana *nyama* màsin'wini/ (LL). They give the child some meat in the fields (P.E.A.).

but

/Vatàteka *xibya* halenù/ (L). They will take the dish here (P.E.A., Tvl.).

/Ndzivone *ribyè* kànharhù evùtomini byamina/ (L). I have seen a stone three times in my life (P.E.A., Tvl.).

/Ndzivona *xipfalù* himahlo/ (LL). I see the door with my eyes (P.E.A., Tvl.).

ct.  
/Ndzivona *mapapilà* etafuleni/ (LLL). I see papers on the table (Tvl.).

/Ndzivona *rihlelò* emutini/ (LL). I see a winnowing basket in the village (Tvl.).

2.4.0. The D tonomorphemes are completely high-toned, i.e. all the tonemes are high (see Table II).

With these tonomorphemes Prefix H is used. If a noun carrying the D tonomorphemes is followed by a Modifier of any type, or by any adverb, such modifier or adverb becomes high-toned too. The D tonomorphemes are found with nouns following most negative predicative constructions. In many instances, alternatives, with tonomorphemes A, B or C, as the environment of the noun may require, are to be found. In all these alternative cases a juncture /+ / separates the negative predicative from its adjuncts. A difference of meaning between these forms usually results. [neg. V+H-D] or [neg. V+A, B, C.]

/Ahilavi *nyama* yobola/ (LL). We do not want rotten meat.

/Avangaxaveli *xikoxa nyama*/ (LL, LL). They will not buy the old woman meat.

/Andzivoni *tibuku*/ (HL). I do not see books.

/Vana avachavi *mangadyana*/ (LLHL). The children are not afraid of a bat.

/Ahivoni *vanhu* endlèleni/ (L). We do not see people on the road.

or

/Ahilavi + *nyàmà* yobola/ (LL). We do not want rotten meat (never).

/Andzivoni + *tibukù*/ (HL). I do not see the books (nor anything else).

/Vana avachavi + *màngàdyanà*/ (LLHL). The children are not afraid of the bat (nor of anything else).

2.5.0. The distribution of the A, B, C and D tonomorphemes, in simple unemphatic sentences,<sup>15</sup> can be diagrammed as shown in Table III.

### 3.0. *Tonomorphology of the Identificative Copulative.*

The present positive of the identificative copulative is formed by prefixing the subject concord (for the first and second persons), or /i-/ (for the third persons) to the noun.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup>The abbreviations Tvl and P.E.A. stand for Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa respectively. They indicate the locality of the dialect represented in the example.

<sup>15</sup>By simple unemphatic sentences is meant sentences in which the following word order is observed: subject, verb, object(s), (adverb).

<sup>16</sup>The dialectal variant construction with a nasal prefix /N-/ instead of /i-/ is not considered in this paper.



TABLE III

Subject slot	Verb slot	Primary object	Secondary object	Tertiary object
L-A ± MI	pos./neg. V	N-B		
N-C + MII	pos./neg. V	L-A ± MI <sup>17</sup>		
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII <sup>18</sup>		
	pos. V <sup>L</sup>	N-B	L-A	
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N-B	
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	
	pos. V	N-B	L-A	N-B
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N-B	L-A
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N-B
	pos. V	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII	N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII
	neg. V	H-D ± MI/MII	±H-D ± MI/MII	
abs. + N-B	pos./neg. V			
abs. + N/L-A + MI	pos./neg. V			
abs. + N-C + MII	pos./neg. V			
	pos. V	abs. + N-B		
	pos. V	abs. + N/L-A + MI / N-C + MII		
	neg. V	abs. + H-D ± MI/MII		

<sup>17</sup>After an "all low" verb, the object immediately following the verb always has Prefix L and the A tonomorphemes, whether it is followed or not by a Modifier I.

<sup>18</sup>N/L means that either the Prefix N or the Prefix L is used: N-A + MI applies to the Transvaal dialects; L-A + MI applies to the P.E.A. dialects; L-A + MI occurs in all dialects after an "all low" verb.

3.1.0. In the first and second persons, when the subject concord is prefixed, the A tonomorphemes are used, together with Prefix L, even though a Modifier II follows. [SC-L-A ±M] (see 2.3.1).

/Ndzìmùrisi/ (HH). I am a shepherd.

/Hìvàrimì/ (LL). We are cultivators.

/Ũnhwànyànà lonene/ (LLL). You are a good girl.

/Ndzìmùnhù ùn'wè/ (L). I am one person.

3.2.1. If /i-/ is prefixed to a noun not followed by any Modifier, the E tonomorpheme is used (see Table II). With the E tonomorphemes, the prefix of the noun is high, and then /i-/ is low. If the noun has no prefix, /i-/ is high, except with LL, LLL, LLLL stems which have become HH, HHH, HHHH in tonomorpheme E. When the copulative reverts to the A tonomorphemes (see 3.2.2), /i-/ is high in all cases. [i-H-E], [i-E or i-E].

/Ìxihlovo/ (LL). It is a well.

/Ìmufanà/ (HL). It is a boy.

/Ìxigàlana/ (LHH). It is a tick.

/Ìmahungundlela/ (LLLL). They are rumours.

/Ìmudyondzisi/ (HHH). It is a teacher (P.E.A.), or

/Ìmudyondzisi/ (Tvl.).

/Ìnambu/ (LL). It is a river.

/Ìtapùla/ (HLH). It is a potato.

/Ìkèrèkè/ (LHL). It is a church.

/Ìkwembe/ (HH). It is a pumpkin.

With monosyllabic stems the prefix and the stem behave as one tone bearing unit: L-L is treated as a prefixless LL stem, and L-H as a prefixless LH stem. By doing so these nouns conform to the general tonal patterns observed in copulative formations.<sup>19</sup>

/Ìmuti/ (L-L=LL). It is a village.

/Ìmùrhi/ (L-H=LH). It is a tree.

3.2.2. If a copulative with prefix /i-/ is followed by a Modifier I, the A tonomorphemes occur. However, the A tonomorpheme in copulative constructions, corresponding to basic HHH is HHL. Otherwise the A tonomorphemes for the copu-

lative are as those listed on Table II. The tones of /i-/ and of the prefix, if any, are as described in 3.2.1.

/Ìhosi yatiko/ (HH). It is the chief of the country, he is the chief of the country.

/Ìxifaniso xahosi/ (HHL). It is the picture of the chief.

/Ìgàndlàtì lerikulu/ (LLL). It is a big wave.

/Ìmufambisi lonkulu/ (HHH). He is a big leader.

3.2.3. If the copulative is followed by a Modifier II, the C tonomorphemes are used. Here HLH remains HLH in all dialects; thus the irregularity noted in 2.3.0 no longer occurs. /i-/ and the prefix, if any, have the same tones as described in 3.2.1.

/Ìmbuti yin'we/ (HH). It is one goat.

/Ìrihlelo rin'we/ (LL). It is one winnowing basket.

/Ìxikombiso xin'we/ (HHL). It is one example.

/Ìgàndlàtì rin'we/ (LLL). It is one wave.

3.2.4. In the negative copulative the prefix /hi-/ is used instead of /i-/ and the noun assumes the D tonomorphemes and prefix H. This applies also to the constructions making use of subject concords. [à-hi-H-D] or [à-SC-H-D].

/Àhivānhu lavanene/ (L). We are not good people/They are not good people.

/Àndzinhwanyana/ (LLL). I am not a girl.

/Àhirihlelo ramina/ (LL). It is not my winnowing basket.

/Àhixihontlovila xin'we/ (LLLL). It is not one giant.

3.2.5. Throughout the tenses of the copulative conjugation, tonomorphemes A, B and C are used in the positive, and the D tonomorphemes are used in the negative.

/Ndzitàva foròmanà/ (HLHL). I shall be/ become a foreman (B).

/Andziri nhwanyana/ (LLL). I was a girl (B).

/Hitova varimì lavānene/ (LL). We shall just become good cultivators (A).

<sup>19</sup>See also 8.0. The prefix in these cases acts as a sort of stabilizer to the monosyllabic stem, and thus becomes one with it.



- /Xingava *xikombiso* xin'we/ (HHL). It might be one example (C).  
 /Vàngevi *vayimbeleri*/ (HHHL). They would not be singers (D).  
 /Avangàri *swiphukuphuku*/ (LLLL). They were not fools (D).

#### 4.0. Tonomorphology of "Inflected Nouns".

By "inflected noun" is meant here a noun to which one of the following high-toned morphemes has been prefixed: /na- $\infty$  ni-/ , /ha- $\infty$  hi-/ , /ka-/ (locative), possessive concords (CV structure, where V is /a- $\infty$  o-/). Locative and identificative copulatives are also inflected nouns, but they have been deliberately excluded from this section because of their slightly different tonal behaviour.

Stems to which the above-mentioned morphemes are prefixed have the B tonomorphemes, and Prefix N. An "all low" verbal form does not affect them because of their high-toned prefixes. If followed by a Modifier I, they assume the A tonomorphemes, and if followed by a Modifier II, they have the C tonomorphemes. After negative verbs they have the D tonomorphemes.

/Varima *hixikomù*/ (LL). They plough with a hoe (B).

/Hlyingisà *hitindlève*/ (LH). We listen with the ears (B).

/Imunè wavàfanà/ (HL). It is four boys (B).

/Mùti *wavanhù* wusasekile/ (L). The village of the people is nice (B).

/Ndzitáfamba *nixihòntlòvìlà* lexikulu/ (LLLL). I shall go with the big giant (A).

/Ndzilava màli *yaxikoxa* xin'we/ (LL). I want the money of one old person (C).

/Hiya *kamamanà*/ (HHL). We are going to mother (B).

/Àndziyi *kamamana*/ (HHL). I am not going to mother (D).

/Àndzibalesi *hixibamu*/ (LL). I do not shoot with a gun (D).

#### 4.1.0. The nominal base of associative copulatives behaves like the nouns described above.

- /Ndzini *xibamù*/ (LL). I have a gun (B).  
 /Ndzini *xibamù* lexikulu/ (LL). I have a big gun (A).  
 /Ndzini *xibamu* xin'we/ (LL). I have one gun (C).  
 /Àndzina *xibamu*/ (LL). I have no gun (D).

#### 5.0. Tonomorphology of the Locative.

Locatives are derived from nouns (a) by prefixing /ka-/ (see 4.0), or (b) by suffixing /-enì ~ -inì  $\infty$  - $\phi$ /. In addition, /e-/ , which does not affect the tonal behaviour of the locative, may be prefixed to that locative. When /-enì ~ -inì/ are suffixed, the final vowel of the noun stem is elided or undergoes a morphophonemic change. Therefore, the resulting locative is only one syllable longer than the original noun stem from which it is derived.

5.1.0. Tonologically locatives behave like nouns,<sup>20</sup> i.e. they have the A, B, C and D tonomorphemes. However, locative B tonomorphemes differ considerably from the nominal B tonomorphemes listed in Table II, and therefore a new table is given below. They are best derived from the basic A tonomorphemes seen in Table II.

Table IV

Basic A	Locative A	Locative B
H	HL	HL
L	LL	HL
HH	HHL	HHL
HL	HHL	HHL
LL	LLL $\infty$ HLL $\infty$ LHL	HHL $\infty$ LHL
LH	LHL	LHL
HHH	HHHL	HHHL
HHL	HHHL	HHHL
HLH	HLHL	HLHL
LLL	LLLL	HHHL
LHL	LHHL	LHHL
LHH	LHHL	LHHL
HHHL	HHHHL	HHHHL
HLHL	HLHHL	HLHHL
LLLL	LLLLL	HHHHL
LHLH	LHLHL	LHLHL

Note that LL nouns have three A and two

<sup>20</sup>This is another indication that locatives, though in Tsonga formed mostly by suffixation, are very close to substantives, and should be classified with them in the same distribution class.

B allotonomorphemes. These are in morphological complementary distribution.<sup>21</sup>

5.2.0. Locative A tonomorphemes are used in the following circumstances:

5.2.1. A locative followed by a Modifier I has the A tonomorphemes with Prefix N (Transvaal) and Prefix L (P.E.A.).

/Vatàtirha ndlwini yahina/ (L). They will work in our house.

/Ndziya eddròpèni lerikulu/ (LLL). I go to the big town.

/Tinhwala tihanya eswiàmbàlwèni leswinyingi/ (LLL). Lice live in many garments.

/Hlyà emakhòngolòtini lamànyingi/ (LHLH). We are going to the numerous millipedes.

5.2.2. A locative, after the morpheme /-le/, whether followed or not by a Modifier I, has tonomorpheme A. /-le/ is prefixed to the locative before any conjugational morpheme, or the prefixal /na- ∞ ni-/ , /ha- ∞ hi-/ , and possessive concords may be prefixed to that locative. After /-le/, the noun prefix, if any, is always low-toned; /-le/ is high-toned.

/Tidyondzo tile tibukwini/ (HL). The lessons are in the books.

/Vànhù vale maddròpèni/ (LLL). The people are in the towns.

/Hitàyà kaya nile xibedlèlè/ (LLL). We shall go home and to the hospital.

/Ndzitàyà katàtanà nile kamamanà/ (HHL). I shall go to father and to mother.

/Ndzitàlangutà tibukwini nile màpàpileni/ (LLL). I shall look in the books and among the papers.

5.3.0. Locative B tonomorphemes are used if the locative stands after the verb, provided it is not followed by a Modifier. Prefix N is used.

/Ndzivona khuvi egandlatini/ (LLL). I

see foam on the wave.

/Kuni xihoxò xikombisweni/ (HHL). There is a mistake in the example.

/Ndzitàyà emutini/ (L). I shall go to the village.

/Vatirha exibedlèlè migòdini/ (LLL, LH). They work in the hospital on the mines.

5.4.0. Locative C tonomorphemes, with prefix N, are like those listed in Table II. They occur with locatives followed by /-n'we/ used with a high-toned prefix. A locative following another locative does not require the C tonomorphemes on the first locative (ct. 2.3.2).

/Vana vale mutini un'we/ (L). The children are in one village.

/Tmàngà tile rihlelweni rin'we/ (LL). The peanuts are in one winnowing basket.

/Vatirha exibedlèlè nile xikolweni xin'we/ (HL). They work in a hospital and in one school.

5.5.0. A locative following a negative verb has the D tonomorphemes and Prefix H. If the locative is separated from the verb by a noun object, the locative can have the D tonomorphemes only if the noun object itself has the D tonomorphemes.

/Avatlangi ndlwini/ (L). They do not play in the house.

/Àhidyi nyama endleleni/ (LL). We do not eat meat on the road.

## 6.0. Deverbative Nouns.

A great number of Tsonga personal noun stems are derived from verb radicals<sup>22</sup> by suffixing /-i/, sometimes /-a/. Impersonal noun stems are mostly formed by suffixing /-u/ or /-o/ to the radical. Deverbative nouns usually retain the basic tone pattern of the radical with tense suffix /-a/: this basic tonomorpheme is that occurring in the infinitive used as subject of a sentence.

(a) H radicals give H nominal stems and L radicals give L stems.

<sup>21</sup>A few examples are sufficient to show these variations:

Basic A  
vupùtsù (light beer)  
nyàmà (meat)  
ndlèlè (road, way, path)

Locative A  
vupùtswini  
nyàmèni  
ndlèlèni

Locative B  
vuputswini  
nyameni  
ndlèlèni

<sup>22</sup>The term radical is used to refer to the root plus any extension(s) of the verb but without any conjugational suffix.



- /-f-a/ die
- >/mùfù/ dead person;
- /-dy-a/ eat
- >/mùdyi/ person who eats;
- /-lw-à/ fight
- >/mùlwi/ fighter.

(b) HH radicals give HH stems, and LL radicals give LL stems.

- /-ris-a/ herd
- >/mùrisi/ shepherd
- /-nyik-a/ give
- >/nyiko/ gift;
- /-rim-à/ cultivate
- >/mùrimà/ cultivator;
- /-pfàl-à/ close
- >/xìpfàlò/ door.

(c) HHH radicals give HHH personal noun stems, HHL impersonal stems, and HLH stems if the radical incorporates a passive extension.

- /-dyondzis-a/ teach
- >/mùdyondzisi/ teacher;
- /-fambis-a/ lead
- >/mùfambisi/ leader;
- /-kombis-a/ show
- >/xìkombisò/ example;
- /-bohiw-a/ be tied
- >/mùbohiwa/ prisoner;
- /-pfuniw-a/ be helped
- >/mùpfuniwa/ person who is helped.

(d) LLL and LLLL radicals give LLL and LLLL stems respectively.

- /-hànyis-à/ cure
- >/mùhànyisi/ person who cures;
- /-hlàmùl-à/ answer
- >/nhlààmùlò/ an answer;
- /-ànàkàny-à/ think, remember
- >/miànàkànyò/ thoughts.

(e) HHHL radicals give HHHL personal and impersonal noun stems, and HHLH stems if the radical incorporates a passive extension.

- /-yimbelel-à/ sing
- >/mùyimbeleri/ singer;
- /-seketel-à/ prop up
- >/xìseketelò/ prop, support;
- /-ponisiw-à/ be saved
- >/mùponisiwa/ person who is saved.

7.0. *Diminutive Nouns.*

Diminutive nouns are formed by suf-

fixing /-ana/ or /-nyana/ onto the original noun stem. The prefix /xi-/ (class 7, singular), or /swi-/ (class 8, plural) is prefixed onto the original prefix if the stem is monosyllabic, or instead of the original prefix if the stem is polysyllabic, when /-ana/ is suffixed. Diminutive nouns are longer than the original stems from which they are derived, but otherwise they continue to behave tonologically like the nouns described above.

7.1. When /-ana/ is suffixed the final vowel of the stem is elided or undergoes a morphophonemic change. The diminutive stem is one syllable longer than the original stem. The tonomorphemes of the diminutive stems are formed as follows: (a) add H if the original A tonomorpheme ends in H; (b) add L to an "all low" tonomorpheme; (c) add H to a tonomorpheme ending in L, and then that final L becomes H (see Table V).

- /mbuti/ goat (HH)
- >/ximbutana/ goat kid;
- /mfènhè/ baboon (LL)
- >/ximfènhànà/ young baboon;
- /ribyè/ stone (L)
- >/xiribyànà/ small stone;
- /kèrekè/ church (LHL)
- >/xikèrekanà/ small church;
- /ndlève/ ear (LH)
- >/xindlèbyanà/ small ear.

7.2. When /-nyana/ is suffixed, the diminutive stem is two syllables longer than the original stem. The tonomorphemes are derived in the same way as described for /-ana/. However, wherever the resulting tonomorpheme would end in more than two H in succession, the final syllable is L (see Table V). Exceptions are H and HH which become HHH and HHHH respectively.

- /màtapùla/ potatoes (HLH)
- >/màtapùlanyanà/ a few potatoes;
- /mholovo/ dispute (HHH)
- >/mholovonyanà/ a small dispute;
- /kèrekè/ church (LHL)
- >/kèrekenyanà/ small church;
- /ndlève/ ear (LH)
- >/ndlèvenyanà/ small ear;

- /dòròpà/ town (LLL)  
 >/dòròpànyàà/ small town;  
 /mbuti/ goat (HH)  
 >/mbutinyana/ small goat.

Table V

*Formation of Diminutive Nouns*

<i>Original Stem</i>	<i>With /-ana/</i>	<i>With /-nyana/</i>
H	HH	HHL
L	LL	LLL
HH	HHH	HHHH
HL	HHH	HHHL
LL	LLL	LLL
LH	LHH	LHHL
HHH	HHHH	HHHHL
HHL	HHHH	HHHHL
HLH	HLHH	HLHHL
LLL	LLL	LLL
LHL	LHHH	LHHHL
LHH	LHHH	LHHHL
HHHL	HHHHH	HHHHHL
HHLH	HHLHH	HHLHHL
HLHL	HLHHH	HLHHHL
LLL	LLL	LLL
LHLH	LHLHH	LHLHHL

8.0. *The So-called "Irregular Nouns".*

A few nouns which, according to a synchronic morphological study have monosyllabic stems, seem to behave irregularly tonologically. However, if the prefix, or at least the vowel thereof, is treated as part of the stem, these nouns behave perfectly regularly, like HH nouns. It is worth noting that these nouns are derived from Proto-Bantu stems which have been postulated as vowel commencing or CVCV stems. These nouns are /musi/ (smoke) (cf. Proto-Bantu\*-yokî), /mutwa/ (thorn) (cf. Proto-Bantu\*-iyua), /mati/ (water) (cf. Proto-Bantu\*-iyî, \*-iyî), /mahlo/ (eyes) (cf. Proto-Bantu\*-yîko), /vuswa/ (hard, cooked ground maize).



## NOTES AND NEWS

### OBITUARY: Professor J. D. Krige.

Jacob Daniel Krige, Professor of Social Anthropology and Head of the Department of Bantu Studies in the University of Natal, died suddenly in Durban on 10 April, 1959. Although his friends knew that his life had been in the balance for some years, this did not lessen the shock of his death; for he had, with characteristic rationality, adjusted himself to the heart complaint that constantly threatened him, and had just emerged from one of his regular periods of complete rest, full of vigour and enthusiasm for the new academic year.

Born in 1896, Jack Krige at an early age showed promise of his later academic distinction. He was placed first in the Transvaal for the School Certificate in 1912, and was awarded the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize when he matriculated two years later. In 1915 he went on a scholarship to the Victoria College, Stellenbosch, where he read chemistry and zoology, gaining first classes in the Intermediate, the B.A. and the Honours in Zoology. A bursary supplemented by part-time work in the Botany Department made it possible for him to carry out research in zoology and to take philosophical and allied subjects to correct what he regarded as the bias of his scientific studies.

Awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1919, Krige went to Oxford where he read for the Honours in Jurisprudence and subsequently studied psychology, philosophy and politics. One of his extra-curricular interests, in the League of Nations Union, led to his appointment to the staff of the Diplomatic Division of the International Labour Office in Geneva for fifteen months (1923-24). Tasks such as the study of the application of labour conventions to primitive peoples and the preparation of reports on African mandated

territories aroused Krige's interest in African thought and institutions.

This interest was sustained when, having declined an administrative post in a mandated territory, he returned to the Union to practise at the Johannesburg Bar from 1925 to 1930. One of his early criminal defences made a great impression on him; the African accused, innocent by his own standards, was found guilty and sentenced to death. In many subsequent cases, problems of responsibility, provocation and extenuating circumstances persuaded him that a proper appreciation of African outlook and belief was a prerequisite to the administration of justice in our courts. To improve his own grasp of such problems he started attending Mrs Hoernlé's lectures in social anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand. It was at this time that he met his wife, the anthropologist Dr Eileen Krige (*née* Jensen); and their long and fruitful co-operation as field workers among the Lovedu of the Northern Transvaal began with a small research grant from the university.

Krige's experience in the Transvaal between 1925 and 1934 was richly varied. He was for a time secretary of the Johannesburg Bar, wrote popular articles and gave radio talks on commonwealth affairs, lectured in international law at the University of the Witwatersrand, and collaborated with Wille, Millin, Nathan and Mulligan in the preparation of their legal books. From 1931 to 1934 he reorganized and directed with marked success a correspondence college which, in many respects, set the pattern for the present postal tuition offered by the University of South Africa.

Krige's growing interest in social anthropology led to his going, with his wife, to England in 1935, where they attended the

seminars and lectures of Professors Malinowski and Firth, and Krige prepared for Lord Hailey's *An African Survey* a section on the application of law to Africans in the Union. Krige's decision to abandon law for social anthropology may have been made in 1934 when he declined appointment as Attorney-General of South-West Africa. He made his choice final when, in 1936, he and his wife were awarded a three-year International African Institute Fellowship for field work among the Lovedu which culminated in *The Realm of a Rain Queen* (7) and a number of individual and joint papers by the Kriges.

At the end of their field work, the Kriges went to Rhodes University College where, as Senior Lecturer (1940) and Professor (1944), Krige was entrusted with the founding of the Department of Bantu (now African) Studies. His wife founded the Department of Social Science and was in charge of it until 1944. They moved to the University of Natal, Durban, in 1946, where, this time jointly, they founded the Department of Bantu Studies and where Professor Krige undertook various important administrative duties, such as being Organizer of Arts Courses, Dean of the City Building and Dean of the Faculty of Social Science.

Krige was a nephew of Mrs Smuts, and, during his Pretoria schooldays, was a member of the Smuts household at Irene. The influence of General Smuts was clear in many of his characteristics, especially his complete emancipation from South African parochialism and his catholic scholarship and interests. These qualities, together with his natural gifts of integrity, kindness and moderation and his scientific and legal training, enabled Krige to approach any problem with clarity and objectivity. His wise counsel and judgment was in great demand in all the organizations that he served. It was indispensable to the University of Natal in the period of its rapid development about the time of its attaining independence. Had his health made it possible and had he been spared longer, he would undoubtedly have made an even greater contribution to academic leadership in South Africa. Not only

the University of Natal but also the University College of Fort Hare and the University of South Africa benefited from his devoted and effective service. At the time of his death he was—not for the first time—Acting Principal of the University of Natal.

Yet the demands made on his administrative gifts never dulled his academic enthusiasm. He placed his students' interests above all else; and the courses in social anthropology that he and his wife provided were of rare thoroughness and of the highest standard. Krige was at his best in seminars, especially interdisciplinary ones, where he played the anthropologist's rôle of breaking down Western ethnocentricism with deftness and tact. Although the demands on his time were heavy, and the state of his health imposed on him an irksome regimen, he saw to it that he was never too busy to discuss academic and research problems with his colleagues and students, to whom, through his scholarship, balanced judgment, clarity of expression and frankness both in criticism and in praise, he was a source of great help and encouragement.

Krige's intellectual and critical powers were rendered especially effective by his unassailable integrity and kindly humour. He was, in short, a man South Africa can ill afford to lose. Anthropologists the world over will join with their esteemed colleague, his wife, and with their two sons in mourning his death.

M. G. M.

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### **Inter-African Conference on Industrial, Commercial and Agricultural Education. Second Meeting, Luanda 1957.**

These meetings are organised by the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) and its advisory body, the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (C.S.A.).

At this second meeting, industrial, commercial and agricultural education were discussed by three separate committees and, in each case, a list of recommendations drawn up. The subject of vocational guidance was also given considerable attention at the

conference. It was discussed by the General committee which made various recommendations. All recommendations are forwarded to the governments of the member countries of the Commission.

Prior to the meeting, a rapporteur was appointed for each section to visit the member countries and to draw up a report which would form a basis for discussion at the conference. Questionnaires were also sent out by the C.C.T.A./C.S.A. and the information obtained was incorporated in the reports of the rapporteurs. All four reports are given in the published account of the meeting. There is no doubt that the conference owed much to the work done at this preliminary stage.

The report of the rapporteur on industrial education is very comprehensive. Since, 'for the majority of Africans, the mechanistic background characteristic of an industrial community is largely missing', the report stresses the need for the introduction of handicraft subjects into both primary and secondary school curricula. Accounts are given of pre-vocational education and training, apprenticeship and trade training schools. Higher technological education and technical teacher training are also covered. The recommendations of the Industrial committee were naturally directed towards improvements in all these aspects of industrial education. Thus, in the case of technical teacher training, it was recommended that the technical teacher should earn a salary as great as that of his counterpart in industry; also, 'that arrangements should be made for the periodical release of teaching staff in order that they might renew their acquaintance with modern industrial processes and manufacturing methods'.

The recommendations made by the committee on Commercial education follow a similar pattern. Commercial education is to be an 'alternative to academic or industrial education with the same status and potentialities'. Pupils in primary schools are to be given 'instruction in such everyday commercial practices as they might meet with after leaving school'. Account is to be taken of local conditions.

Agricultural education is obviously the 'step-bairn' of the family. It struggles to achieve the status of industrial or commercial education. The committee recommends that instruction in rural science should be given in all primary schools and the value of school gardens is recognized. Since teachers, as a whole, are not agriculturally orientated, it is recommended that rural science should be provided in all training institutions for primary school teachers.

A marked feature of the conference was the general faith in the efficacy of vocational

guidance. Everyone wished to see an extended use of this technique although the agricultural committee realised that it might further lower the standard of recruitment in its own field. It was recommended by the General committee that a general and systematic scheme of vocational guidance should be developed, that experience should be pooled and research co-ordinated. Owing to the lack of trained personnel, it was also recommended that simplified methods should be devised for the use of non-specialists.

N.G.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Dictionnaire Lomongo-Français.** G. HULSTAERT. Tervuren, Belgium. 1957. 2 vols. A-J, xxxi + 917 pp.; K-Z, ix + 1051 pp.

This very extensive work is well printed on strong paper (11" x 7½"), in very clear type; and, like all publications of the "Sciences de l'Homme" of the Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, is a great credit to the work being carried out in the Congo on the languages of the African tribes. This Mongo-French Dictionary comprises Volume 16, Tomes 1 & 2, of the Linguistic series. It constitutes the second part of Hulstaert's Mongo Dictionary, of which the first part (French-Mongo) appeared as No. 2 of the Linguistic series.

The author of this authoritative publication, G. Hulstaert, M.Sc., who has earned the position of the foremost exponent of Mongo-Nkundu, is a member of the "Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales", and of the "Commission de Linguistique Africaine du Ministère des Colonies", and is engaged in research work in Central Africa. His other linguistic works on Mongo include a Grammar, the French-Mongo part of this Dictionary, and a large monograph on Mongo Proverbs.

The present work under review has a short introduction dealing with method, followed by a brief grammatical sketch. The dictionary itself covers 1948 pages (double col.), and deals with between 25,000 and 30,000 entries. Verbs and adjectives are treated correctly under their stems, but it is a pity that the nouns are entered under the prefix of the singular. Regarding this Hulstaert states (in his Introduction, p. xiv): "Cet ordre nous paraît le plus indiqué pour la consultation facile par les usagers au Congo, qui forment le public auquel cet ouvrage est en tout premier lieu destiné. Les linguistes spécialistes préfèrent sans doute (et très justement à leur point de vue) le groupement par radicaux; nous croyons les avoir servi suffisamment en indiquant à la fin de chaque mot-souche l'étymologie et la famille des dérivés." Despite this, the reviewer feels strongly that it is no more difficult for African users of the dictionary to consult the stem of a noun, than that of a verb; and when one repeatedly finds that under a noun, inserted in the singular form, a large number of the examples appear in the plural. An example may be seen from *boloi*, under which half of the examples are of *beloi* (the plural), no entry, of course, being found under *be-*.



However, this is practically the only criticism to be made of the author's work. Tone markings are indicated throughout with meticulous care; even dialectal variations in tone are frequently recorded. Hulstaert's method of treating derivatives, especially those from verb stems, is thoroughly sound (cf. his remarks on page xiv of the Introduction). In regard to orthography, he points out the interchange, possibly dialectal, possibly individual, between *kp* and *kw*, and between *ngb* and *ngw*. He has adopted the digraph *kb* in place of *kp*, since "les autochtones tiennent à la transcription *kb* qu'ils estiment la seule exacte." The real phonetic value of these sounds is not discussed.

Imported words are dealt with in a sound way, only those which have gained general recognition being included, and then specially marked.

The speech of the region of Igende-Flandria-Bokatola forms the base of this work. Dialectal words from other districts are included, and marked "D". Hulstaert has included among these certain specialized words, e.g. those used in drum, or "gong", communication, those used in oratorical speech, etc.

A most valuable part of the dictionary is to be found in the profuse illustration of the entries, by idiomatic sentences, revealing the Mongo use of the words. These follow the French and Nederlands equivalents, and any further explanation in French. While, naturally, not exhaustive or infallible, the explanations and equivalents may be fully trusted throughout, as giving a true picture of the vocabulary of Mongo speech.

Attention is also given to the etymology of the main entries, and Hulstaert acknowledges assistance in this regard derived from A. de Rop's *Vergelijkende Klankleer van het Lomongo*, based on the works of Meinhof and others. He also acknowledges help from various colleagues in regard to botanical and zoological terms.

A few illustrations, mainly of artifacts, add to the value of this monumental work.

C.M.D.

**Proverbes Mongo.** G. HULSTAERT. *Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge (Sciences de l'homme: Linguistique, Vol. 15).* Tervuren, Belgique. 1958. 828 pp.

Hulstaert's linguistic work in the Mongo-Nkundu grouping of Bantu languages, grammatical, phonetical and tonological, is well known. These languages are situated south of the Congo River, where its great northwards bend occurs.

The work on proverbs, just published, deals with the northern tribe found between 20° and 23°E., and 1.5°N. and the Equator. It is a work of considerable proportions, probably the largest published collection of proverbs in any Bantu language—a total of 2,670, reflecting a masterly knowledge of the language and deep research. The wealth of proverbial material in most Bantu languages is remarkable. Almost 2,000 proverbs have been published in Lamba; and W. F. P. Burton told the reviewer some years ago that he had collected over 3,000 in Luba. They mirror the keen thought and outlook of a people and an intelligence beyond what is usually conceded to them.

Hulstaert lists his proverbs alphabetically. Alphabetical listing, however, gives rise at times to duplication of entries, owing to concord change, singular and plural use, etc. (e.g. Nos. 1161 and 2289). Each proverb is placed in its "full" form, followed by its "abbreviated" form; then the literal French translation, followed by a brief explanation of use and application. This occupies pp. 13-671. Then follows a second part, pp. 675-828, comprising a most useful "Liste idéologique", classifying all the proverbs (in their full form) under a great variety of headings according to reference or significance. The prominent use of the "full" form is questionable. Experience in other Bantu languages has revealed that the proverbs (or aphorisms) are *always* used in their "abbreviated" forms. If this is so of Mongo, it would have been better to place the true proverb-form first, and the full form, as an explanation, second, and to use the "true" form in the "Liste idéologique".

Arising from the foregoing, the author

might then have added to the great value of this work by investigating the form and technique of the proverbs in the forms which so many of them have assumed. Some slight research into this aspect of Bantu proverbs has already been attempted. The present reviewer indicated some trends in an article entitled "Bantu Wisdom Lore" (*African Studies*, 6, 1947, 101-20), and C. L. S. Nyembezi did the same for Zulu in his *Zulu Proverbs* (1954). Rhythm plays a great part in certain proverbs: simple propositions rhythmically balanced occur in this Mongo collection (e.g. Nos. 313, 1541, 1580, and many others). Other aspects are: Negative axioms; Double propositions, in which the second part is explanatory; Contrast propositions in which there is sometimes direct parallelism, sometimes cross parallelism (as in No. 1274). An investigation of this large collection to ascertain techniques would be rewarding.

The proverbs carry the colouring of local customs and of local geographical features. No. 1580 ("On a journey through deep water, it is the first in the file who is wise"—he is able to warn those behind of holes or obstacles beneath the water) is typical of swamp areas. This is parallel to the Lamba, in a different setting, "Bush-pig, there's a hole; those who are two together tell one another". The saying that one's mother is always beautiful in her own child's eyes is widespread, and occurs in Mongo No. 2025, "One does not compare one's mother to anyone". Large numbers of these proverbs have their counterparts in many a Bantu language; on the other hand many are peculiar to Mongo. This book provides material towards a comparative study of Bantu proverbs: more and more material is becoming available for such an important work of the future.

Bantu linguistics is deeply indebted to Hulstaert for this valuable contribution, of special value to all in contact with the Africans in that part of the Belgian Congo. The Musée Royal du Congo Belge is to be congratulated on a beautifully printed book, a credit to their series of publications.

C. M. DOKE.

**The Birth of a Plural Society. The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914.** L. H. GANN. Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1958. xxi + 230 pp., map, 5 illustrations. 25s.

The framework of this book is the history of Northern Rhodesia in the first twenty years of its existence as a modern state. To provide such a framework fulfils in itself a long-felt want. Impressively erudite and comprehensive in his use of sources Mr Gann first sketches in the background before 1894—the indigenous kingdoms, the depredations of the slave trade, the early European contacts, the first missionary efforts. He then describes the process by which European rule was introduced, how historically the territory emerged as a result of the twin thrust of the British South Africa Company from the south and the British Government from the east, and how this dual origin continued afterwards to mark the character and tone of the administration. Among the subjects treated are the establishment of law and order, the suppression of the slave trade, the introduction of taxation and the promotion of wage labour, the system of law and courts, and the development of the administration itself, particularly under Codrington. The last third of the book deals with the work of the white settler—as miner, railwayman, farmer and trader—and of his emergence as a political influence. The whole forms a most valuable piece of historical pioneering, and with its extensive range of bibliographical references will be for some time the starting-point for all further studies.

The title of the book shows, however, that it is meant to be more than simply an historical work. One distinguishing feature is the attempt to utilise the findings of modern anthropology in the evaluation of judgements passed by early European observers on various facets of African society. This is part of an outlook which sees modern African history in terms of the interaction of one culture upon another, rather than in the old terms of the imposition of European civilisation on a *tabula rasa*. The result is



what Professor Max Gluckman in a spirited foreword describes as 'half-way between orthodox history and sociology'. In analysing the formative phase of modern Northern Rhodesian history Mr Gann's object is to discover how the present social and political structure came to be established. More than anything he is concerned with the history of race relations, and his book does in a more scholarly way what Mr Philip Mason's *Birth of a Dilemma* achieves for Southern Rhodesia.

No doubt a strong argument can be made out that writing on modern African history should be cast in the form of 'socio-history', but this certainly requires a larger canvas. In this respect Mr Gann is all too well aware of the limitation under which he has had to labour by being obliged to confine himself within the comparatively narrow compass of some 60,000 words. The result is that he refers to a whole range of important topics, such as the contrasting influence of the English and South African racial attitudes, and draws parallels with other multi-racial societies, but he is able to give these no more than the most cursory treatment. Furthermore, such weighty subjects are only contained with difficulty in the narrow frame of Mr Gann's subject—Northern Rhodesia between 1894 and 1914—and their speculative, philosophical character threatens at times to overwhelm it. Nevertheless Mr Gann has made an interesting and praiseworthy attempt, and if in some respects he is not entirely successful his achievement on the purely historical side is unquestionably a substantial one.

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**English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908).** RUTH M. SLADE. Vol. XVI, No. 2, of the History Section of the "Memoirs" of the Académie Royale des Sciences Col-

oniales, Brussels. 1959. 432 pp., maps. 400 fr.B.

This is an outstanding piece of research for which the author was awarded the Ph.D. degree of London University in 1957. The growth of European political influence in the Congo from the time of Stanley is traced with the parallel picture of Protestant missionary pioneering and advance. The explorations of Grenfell (of the Baptist Missionary Society) are shown in perspective as affecting, not only missionary strategy, but the spread of the political power wielded by Leopold II. As various Missions entered the Congo, the difficulties of their steering clear of political entanglements are well revealed. These are accentuated during the years of the forced labour and rubber atrocities, and the author handles this part of the history with great skill and impartiality, describing with clear insight the rôles of Leopold, of the Roman Catholic missionaries working with his encouragement and help, of the British Foreign Office, of the various foreign (i.e. non-Belgian) Missionary Societies, and of the individual missionaries.

The focus is upon the Protestant Missions, but methods and policies of the various Roman Catholic Missions are described in comparison or contrast. The history is brought down to the beginnings of the pressure towards an indigenous African Church in the Congo.

The reviewer has not seen a piece of Missionary History, written from the political angle, to equal this splendid work, which holds the reader's attention from beginning to end.

The book is beautifully printed in large clear type, and fully documented throughout. The only blemish is that the proof-reader has not corrected the absurd dividing of the words at the end of lines. Almost half of such words are wrongly divided, e.g. "Euro-pe, el-sewhere, welco-me, wat-ching", and even monosyllabics, "tho-se, kni-fe", etc., *ad lib.*

This is a book to be most highly recommended.

C. M. D.

**Independent African, John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915.** GEORGE SHEPPERSON and THOMAS PRICE. The University Press, Edinburgh, 1958. x + 542 pp., 25 plates, 2 maps. 50s.

Recent events in Nyasaland should give this book a special interest at the present time. It sets out to elaborate, with great wealth of detail and considerable historical erudition, an apparently trivial incident, the Nyasaland rising of 1915, in which three Europeans and a small but unknown number of Africans lost their lives. The book is far too elaborate, far too much concerned with trivial detail and far too long and repetitive to make easy reading. The reviewer, who is greatly interested in African political and social movements and has himself written extensively on the subject, found it heavy going. Only his reviewer's conscience compelled him to read through to the end. However, as a source book on the origins of African nationalism in Central Africa, and particularly its early or "Ethiopian" phase, this heavy volume should prove invaluable.

The writers are concerned in the main with two figures of historical importance, an African and a European. The European was Joseph Booth.\* Born in England in 1851, he became an agnostic. Afterwards in New Zealand he was "reconverted" to Christianity and thereafter was associated with various churches of an extreme or non-conformist character. He came to Nyasaland in 1892 to start an industrial mission, which aimed at providing Africans not merely with spiritual goods but with training in agricultural and other techniques which might be of use to them. Booth spoke out strongly against maltreatment of the natives and got into trouble both with the authorities and his backers overseas. This necessitated frequent visits to Britain and the U.S.A. to seek fresh backers as the older ones dropped him. Among his supporters were such groups as the Seventh Day Adventists.

In 1896 he started an African Christian

Union, which, for a time had a number of supporters in Natal. Its manifesto embodied his ideas for the combination of economic advance and evangelization and advocated the "unswerving policy of Africa for the African". It is not clear whether Booth was the first to coin this phrase. If he was it may be said that the pan-African movement of to-day owes its major slogan to a white man.

John Chilembwe was one of Booth's early protégés. Booth took him to America in 1897 where Chilembwe studied in Negro colleges. Parting company with Booth he returned to Nyasaland to found the Providence Industrial Mission, an independent organization which, with American Negro financial help developed in the Shire highlands. It was Chilembwe and his group who organized and led the abortive rising of 1915.

In spite of their diligent search for information, the writers are able to present us with only the merest glimmering of Chilembwe's thoughts and character. Much is inferred, much more is surmised, but we are left with the impression of Chilembwe as a mystic figure in the background, a sort of *deus ex machina*, who is led by the logic of his position as a "marginal man" eventually to plan an armed uprising as providing the only solution to his problem. Their inability to get at Chilembwe, the man, and tell something real about him may in part account for the authors' prolixity. Perhaps they hoped to find something revealing, but failed in the attempt.

The final section, which deals with the Chilembwe movement and Negro history, clearly shows the authors' fundamental sympathy with their hero and others like him who protest "forcibly, as a last resort, against those features which seem . . . a betrayal of the promise of the first European emissaries, that the Africans who accepted their training and direction would enjoy the fruits of civilization which were displayed in everyday European life."

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Johannesburg.*

\* Wrongly described in the reviewer's *Time Longer Than Rope* as an American Negro!



**Jacob van Reenen and the Grosvenor Expedition of 1790-1791.** PERCIVAL R. KIRBY. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1958. 137 pp., 2 maps, 7 plates. 17s. 6d.

The Van Riebeeck Society describes this book as being complementary to its *Wreck of the Grosvenor* (ed. by C. Graham Botha, Capetown, 1927) and supplementary to its *Source Book of the Wreck of the Grosvenor* . . . (ed. by Percival R. Kirby, Capetown, 1953).

One wonders whether the wreck of the *Grosvenor* has not received more than its due share of publicity and scholarship (Mr R. K. Kennedy, in his valuable "Shipwrecks on and off the coasts of Southern Africa, A catalogue and index", Johannesburg Public Library, 1935, lists no less than 108 wrecks of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

But Professor Kirby has dug out much new and interesting information about this expedition of 1790-1, sent overland from the Cape, following on persisting rumours that survivors of the wreck were still alive, and the identification of a silver button which reached the Cape as the property of one of the missing castaways. In different chapters Professor Kirby discusses, "Who planned the expedition and why?"; "The members of the party and the agreement signed by them"; "The writer of the Journal"; "The manuscripts of the Journals"; "The Governor and the Council of Policy"; and "Captain Edward Riou and the maps of the route".

Professor Kirby has traced four versions of the journal of the expedition. A document recently discovered at Riversdale he decides to be an original draft made by van Reenen, the journalist of the expedition; from this was prepared a longer version, copy of which is in the British Museum. A document in the Gubbins Library, University of the Witwatersrand, he considers to be in van Reenen's hand, worked up from the Riversdale draft. From this a longer version was prepared which was used by E. Riou (*The journal of a journey from the Cape of Good Hope undertaken in 1790 and 1791* . . . , London, 1792, and reprinted in the Van Riebeeck Society volume of 1927) and which

also entered the British Museum. It is this last version which Professor Kirby prints—the first time the original Netherlands has been published—together with a new English translation.

Professor Kirby's main contribution is his identification of the route of the expedition, which has received no serious consideration since 1906. It was noticed that one small point in this needs clarification: the expedition on 9 November, on the outward journey, crossed a river which Professor Kirby identifies as the Umzimhlava and the next day one which he identifies as the Ntafufu—but the latter lies to the southwest of the former. Nor does Professor Kirby expressly identify the site of the wreck apart from remarking that it was "a little to the south of the Umsinkaba River". The waggons were left at the beginning of Waterfall Bluff and from there a party rode to the wreck in 1½ hours; but in that time they could have got no further than half way to the generally accepted site. From the wreck a party rode for two hours up the coast; much less than that time from the generally accepted site would have taken them to the prominent mouth of the Umsinkaba river, which is not mentioned in the Journal.

The Journal has only a few incidental references to the indigenous population.

Riou's and another contemporary map are published, but the book requires a modern map with the route marked upon it. What does infuriate the reader is that the "foot"-notes appear not on each page but only at the end of each chapter. The translation of the Journal itself occupies 19 pages; but to look at the notes to these 19 pages it is necessary to turn to the end of this particular chapter no less than 165 times.

E.A.

**Les pays agni du Sud-est de la Côte d'Ivoire forestiere.** G. ROUGERIE. Études Eburnéennes VI. Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. Centre de Côte d'Ivoire. 1957. 242 pp., maps and illustrations.

This essay of human geography, as the author describes it, is one of a series of studies

of the Ivory Coast published by the Ivory Coast centre of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire. The author was formerly attached to the Institute at Abidjan and has published a number of valuable papers relating to that territory.

The Agni occupy the small Kingdom of Sanwi in the extreme south east corner of the Ivory Coast. Sanwi extends from the Ghana boundary in the east almost to the Comoe river in the west and it tapers northwards to the junction of the Ghana border with the Songan river. It is essentially a forested region of about 35,000 people centred on Krinjabo, its capital, some miles inland from the head of the Abi lagoon. The Agni, together with the Abouré and Ashanti were all members of the same emigration group into West Africa and today the Agni still resemble the Ashanti in their social and political organization.

This book is a very detailed study of the Sanwi Kingdom and will be of great interest to students of all the social sciences. It first provides a full account of the physical background which is followed by an examination of the ethnic groups and of the political and social structures. The new society which is evolving as a result of the increasing economic developments (in particular the increasing production of plantation crops) which are associated with the acquisition of an ocean port at Abidjan since the completion of the Vridi Canal in 1950, is examined critically from the economic and sociological points of view. The section on "Man and Landscape" gives a very full account of the demographic situation and includes descriptions of the types of settlements and their groupings in relation to physical, economic and cultural controls. Finally, M. Rougerie discusses the impact of the intensification of land utilization upon the social organization of the community. He stresses particularly the dangers of over rapid economic advancement at the expense of adequate consolidation, or, as he expresses it, the Sanwi is conquering its lands but it is not consolidating its conquered positions.

Throughout, the author intends the reader to treat this book as a type study for similar

regions and situations in Africa and his well balanced treatment of the subject demonstrates clearly the effectiveness of the consideration of the constituent elements of the environment as a co-ordinated whole. The geographer will find here an excellent example of the French approach to a localized study in human geography.

The book is illustrated by a large number of maps of the Sanwi Kingdom and has numerous photographs and plans of house types and settlements. There is a full bibliography and table of contents and there are two appendices relating to specialized sociological studies.

P. M. H.

**Die Teda von Tibesti.** ANDREAS KRONENBERG. Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Vol. XII. Ferdinand Berger: Wein-Horn 1958. xiii + 160 pp., xvii, ill., tables, sketch, map, subject index.

This book is a monographical survey on the Teda (also Tubu, Tibbu, Cur'an, Goran, Daza, Aza) who live in the territory between Lake Tchad (Tschad), Ennedi, Kufra and southern central Fezzan. The two principal groups are the camel-raising Teda (language: Tedaga) and the cattle-raising Daza (dialect Dazaga) to the south and west of the Tibesti mountains. Also the Kanuri form part of the Teda-Daza group of peoples.

The material in the book is based on field research work in 1953-54 in Bardai, the Tibesti mountains, and an extensive study of all the literature on the subject. The population of the Teda people and their stock is small. The book could give more statistical figures, which, however, may be difficult to obtain. Otherwise the book covers most aspects of Teda culture and history, comprising the history of exploration, a description of the country, its economics, the periods in the life of the individual Teda, family organization, kinship terminology and organization, the clan system, the history of the various clans which is very important for a modern understanding of tribal history, chiefs and chieftainship, a description of the various social



classes, the principal aspects of customary law, the influence of Islam, pre-Islamic concepts of spiritual life such as higher beings, soul, magic, sacrifices, etc. A cultural and historical analysis is dealt with in chapters concerning the underlying structural principles in Teda culture and society; the items which are remarkable for the cultural pattern and their relations and origins including ancient megalithic remains; theories about the origin of the Teda who are believed to be the remnant parts of the ancient Garamantes, ancient Egyptians and others, all historical layers which formed the Teda nation. There is an appendix on games and divination.

The book gives a good summary of all aspects of Teda culture except language, poetry and art. I recommend that it be translated into English or French, and completed in regard to the last-mentioned aspects and further statistics for publication in the "Ethnographic Survey of Africa" of the International African Institute, London.

P.-L. BREUTZ.

**Porto-Novo: Les Nouvelles Générations Africaines entre leurs Traditions et l'Occident.** CLAUDE TARDITS. *Le Monde D'Outre-Mer Passé et Présent, Première Serie: Études VII. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, VIème Section.* Mouton & Co., Paris et La Haye, 1958. 128 pp.

This book which is based on research done in 1954-55 under the aegis of UNESCO, is sub-titled "The new generations of Africans between their traditions and the West". It is a study of the acculturation of the African élite of Porto-Novo, capital of Dahomey, centre of an ancient kingdom, sometimes called "The Latin Quarter of French Equatorial Africa", because of its large number of educated Africans (a sample survey showed that, of those aged over 20, 68% of the men and 18% of the women had been to school). It has a population of 29,144, composed of Gun, Yoruba and the so-called "Brasiliens", as well as "foreign" Africans, altogether belonging to 42 ethnic

groups—Moslims, Christians and animists.

As criterion of "élite" the writer selected "education" as the most precise and single one, and more exactly the fact of having at least completed primary school, which limited the number of persons studied, at the level of adults, to 3% of the population. This school-educated population has, the author says, not yet constituted itself into a distinct social class, and we have a little too hastily talked about a black bourgeoisie (p. 12). The ties with traditionalist elements on the one hand and the pressure exerted by the Europeans on the other hand appear to hinder considerably the development of social classes. This seems in accordance with most urban research of the moment.

The questionnaires dealt with the position of the individual in his lineage, and his attitudes towards traditional social organization (such as polygamy, financial relationship between husband and wife, the custody of the children on divorce, inheritance, dowry, participation in family funerals) as well as towards professional advancement, employment, regulation of prices and wages, the franchise, syndicalism, political organization and institutions. Religious attitudes were apparently not included. Questions tried to find out not only the position as it is to-day, but also how respondents would like it to be, and the writer's general conclusion was that there is a contradiction between usages and aspirations, and a juxtaposition of customary practices and new departures, signalling a break with tradition. The writer also found new attitudes expressive of the "refusal to allow African ways of life and the African past to be devalued" (p. 14). This reaction can be found mainly amongst the generations educated in Europe.

Competition and rivalry seem the main forces, and these are linked to three developments which most affect modern African society: the increase in dowry expenses, the precariousness of economic enterprise and the instability of political group formations. Three factors are important in the general evolutionary process: the syndicalist movement, the organized expression of political sentiments and the educated woman.

With regard the last, the distinction made between men and women respondents has thrown up some interesting findings; men and women show statistically significant differences in attitudes. The women are clearly more progressive and pioneering. They are claiming new rights, new ways and new forms of social organization in all aspects of life and under all circumstances, even when these go against themselves, or they themselves stand to lose a customary privilege. But the men are progressive only in so far as the traditional ties of the lineage constitute a burden and are obstacles to their economic advancement (p. 75). The woman's position is complex, says the author. It is she who is moving away from the lineage and towards a strengthening of the conjugal family and the position of the husband and father, and on the other hand she is driven back into the lineage by her husband's attitudes and the very weakness, to-date, of the nuclear family.

Traditional organization still dominates life: the chief's authority is still largely recognized by the educated; ancient rituals are still performed, even in the most evolved families; in Porto-Novo voodoo cults are progressively eliminated from the lineages, but are maintained by the "cousins from the country" (p. 105). The syndicates are factors of unification and the political parties are ethnically divided (p. 103).

The book is well constructed and the material clearly presented. All statistical matter is fully tabulated and the main conclusions succinctly given. That certain important questions, however, remain unanswered seems to me due to the fact that the answer-choices offered in the questionnaires were sometimes too few, too categorical and too general. Admitted that urban Africans have more often strong feelings about what they do not want than clear ideas about what they do want, but when the percentage of "no opinion" reaches 38 or 49, then there seems something wrong with the questionnaire. Particularly in the economic and political spheres, a finer-meshed net might have brought in a more differentiated catch. For instance, no clear picture emerges

with regard to African opinion on the regulation of African enterprise. Should African enterprise be allowed unlimited scope or should the number of shops be limited, prices of African manufactured goods be fixed, wages in African employment be protected? Should African monopolies be allowed to arise, or should everyone be given a chance? These are questions which are becoming of vital urgency in South African new urban townships. Similarly in the political sphere, should one encourage the present plurality of parties and multiplicity of leaders, on the ground that it affords more experience and more choices to more people, or should one strive towards one unified party? In the field of job satisfaction for instance, the overwhelming majority in the private African as well as the public mixed section, answers that the relations with colleagues and superiors are good, whilst, particularly in the private African section, there is a significant percentage of "no response", which shows an area of conflict which, so it seems to me, could have been investigated further. That a majority of employees prefer European to African employers could have been expected by an urban expert, and a cluster of questions should have been added to make the explanation of this more than a well-reasoned and plausible guess. All this shows that in a public opinion poll, as this research was, mere choices between "yes" and "no" are insufficient if one wants to sound the depth below the surface. Also, the writer gives us no clue whether Porto-Novo, the traditional market and political capital of Dahomey with a long settled urban population is typical of other African towns, or whether a study of Cotonou with its mosaic of recently immigrated peoples would not have thrown up an entirely different picture. Nevertheless, this is an important book, and, in particular, other research workers might well follow M. Tardits's practice of distinguishing between the attitudes and development of men and women.

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**Western Africa, Part X, Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence; The Nupe** by DARYLL FORDE; **The Igbira** by PAULA BROWN; **The Igala** by ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG; **The Idoma-Speaking Peoples** by ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London 1955. xiv + 160 pp. Map. 16s.

The present volume is a continuation of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa edited by Professor Daryll Forde. The subheadings for each tribe are more or less the same namely, Introduction, Tribal Groupings and Demography, Traditions of History, Language, Physical Environment, Main Features of Economy, Social Organization and Political System, Cultural Features and the Life Cycle, Religious Beliefs and Cults, Bibliography.

The pagination of this volume is defective. Thus the Introduction ends on page xiv. Then come two more pages unnumbered, then comes the first page of the text which is numbered 17. It should either be xvii continuing with the Roman figures, or else start with 1, using the Arabic notation.

In the text the Igala and the Idoma people are dealt with together, while the Nupe and the Igbira are dealt with separately. These three sections each have their own bibliography. It seems that here the editor could have effected economies by having one bibliography at the end of the book for all the tribes. Such a step would have avoided, for instance, the references to Barth, Crowther and others being duplicated and that of Macgregor Laird appearing thrice.

This volume draws attention to an economic unit so recognized by many Negro peoples as to receive a distinct name. This unit consists of a settlement with its huts, its territory, its cultivated and fallow ground, its crops and its wealth. Among the Nupe this unit is called an *emi*, while among the Idoma it is called either an *ole* or *ipaaje*. Among the Ibo and Ibibio of Nigeria the corresponding terms are *obodo* and *ikot*, while among the Nguni of South Africa the word is *umzi*.

The general impression one gains from this

volume is that the people described therein were originally independent, autonomous, stateless settlements on a lineage basis; that later on they were greatly influenced in social organization by Jukun culture. Some groups were influenced more deeply than others, e.g. the Nupe.

Far more use has been made in this monograph of unpublished material than in many of the previous volumes and this gain in otherwise unobtainable information is all to the good. This survey is a useful one and is somewhat better than several preceding ones.

The statement on p. xiii that owing to the presence of the tse-tse fly cattle cannot be reared successfully is incorrect. The *Bos Brachyceros* which is resistant to trypanosomiasis, is found extensively in this area.

I now offer more detailed observations on the peoples discussed in this volume.

*The Nupe:* The Nupe like the Sotho of South Africa live in large compact villages and have a true political system consisting of a hierarchy of courts under a single central authority, the *etsu*, as a final court of appeal. There is also a ranking system of titles wherein promotion from lower rank to higher rank, unlike the age-group system which co-exists, is possible. The co-existence in one society of ranking titles and of an age-group system is a useful illustration of acculturation. Normally, the two systems are not found together.

This system is also found among the Igbo who likewise have age-groupings as well. This system would appear in both tribes to derive from some common source.

The word Saraki applied to titles among the Nupe, who have been much influenced by the Hausa-speaking peoples, appears to be derived from the same stem as that of the Hausa, Sarki or Serikin. Meek (*A Sudanese Kingdom*, 1931, pp. 22, 184) suggests that this title derives from the royal title *Se Ra* of the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt. Such a derivation fits in with the traits found in the Nupe coronation ritual which, like that of ancient Egypt, turned a mortal man into an immortal ruler, or divine King, the solution society has found to the government of

mixed communities, or communities of different ethnic stocks.

The village head is assisted by a council of elders, the *ticizi* or titled ones. Among the Ibo of the Awka district one finds the same arrangement and similar name, where the village head is assisted by the *nditshie* or titled ones.

These Nupe have an hereditary kingmaker whose vernacular title is unfortunately not mentioned but, as the Umundri Ibo have a similar official with the title of Adama or Atama, I suspect that the Nupe title is somewhat similar.

It is of interest to note that among these Nupe, as also among the Yoruba, there are ranking titles for women. The settling of disputes among women or the control and direction of organized female labour falls to the lot of the local woman with the highest ranking title.

The statement on page 18 about the Beni confederacy of twelve raises the issue whether Beni or Bini is a correct name. Bene is a widely used stem meaning "people of".\*

On page 25 is the statement that by 1940 the Government of Nigeria had established 17 mixed farms around Bida. Now, fifteen years later on, the date of publication of this monograph, not a word is said whether the experiment was a success or a failure. One presumes silence implies failure. One bruits success abroad but failures are buried in their own graves. There is also the curious statement that indigo is "cultivated in two forms, grass and tree". As grasses belong to the *graminacea*, while indigo to the *papilionacea*, it is not at all clear what is being cultivated as a "grass".

*The Igbara*: The information on these people is mostly a condensation of Wilson Haffenden's material. Consequently the information is fragmentary and unsatisfactory.

*The Igala and Idoma*: Here the information is based on field work supplemented by literature and so is much better.

It is interesting to note that head-hunting

was practically universal (p. 99) among the Idoma and surrounding tribes, but it is exasperating not to be told the function of head-hunting. Elsewhere in the world, as for instance among the Dyaks of Borneo, a human head was a *sine qua non* for marriage.

That the Idoma have law is not surprising, but what is of great interest to the student of law, and of law in the raw or in the making as it were, is that the Idoma have both statutory law, or more correctly decreed law called by them *ine*, and what we would call Common Law and called by them *uta*.

The statement in the note on p. 103 that "Kaferi is actually a Hausa word for pagans generally" is open to question, especially as in East Africa there is the Swahili word "*Kafiri*, an infidel, an idolator, one who is not a Mohammedan." (Steere, E., *A Handbook of the Swahili Language*, London 1896, p. 297.) It would appear that both Swahili and Hausa have derived this word from the Arabic.

Among the bibliography missed by these authors are the following works:

Banfield, A. W., *Life among the Nupe Tribe*, London, 1905.

Bauer, Fritz, *Die Deutsche Niger-Benne Tschadsee Expedition*, 1902-3, Berlin, 1904.

Cust, R., *Modern Languages of Africa*, London, 1883.

Dupigny, E. G. M., *Gazetteer of Nupe Province*, London, 1920.

Frobenius, L., *Dichten und Denken in Sudan*, *Atlantis*, 5, 1925.

Hutchinson, J. J., *Niger Tshadda and Benue*, London, 1885.

Lugard, F. D., Northern Nigeria, *Geographical Journal*, 23, 1904, 1-29.

Meek, C. K., *An Ethnographical Report on the Peoples of the Nsukha Division, Onitsha Province*, Lagos, 1931.

Migeod, F. W. H., *The Languages of West Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1911.

Temple, C. L., *Native Races and Their Rulers*, Capetown, 1918.

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\* Jeffreys, M. D. W., "Village Names and Tribal Migrations". *Man*, 40, 44, 1940.



**The Tribes of Mafeking District.** P.-L. Breutz. Government Printer, Pretoria. 1955. 275 pp., tables, map.

This book is the 32nd publication of the Department of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa. It deals with the Bantu tribes of the Mafeking district now known as part of the western Sotho group.

The book is divided into two main portions. The first contains the general introduction which deals with such matters as boundaries early history, demography and economics, social customs, beliefs and sources. The second is devoted to a detailed study of the tribes and their subdivisions. The two most important are the baRolong and the boo Ratshidi.

In the Introduction Dr Breutz has been able to trace at least three Bantu migrations from the north that to-day constitute this group. The date of the first migration is unknown but the date of the second, that of the Barolong can be traced back to between 1160 and 1250 the approximate birth of the first Barolong chief. Dr Breutz's investigations confirm those of other investigators, for instance the Portuguese who are satisfied that the Bantu were in Southern Africa well before 1300. Archaeological evidence also supports these statements. The information that is thus appearing refutes the story taught in the new Bantu studies for school children that the Bantu entered South Africa at about much the same time that the Europeans did. That the Bantu advancing south and the Europeans advancing north meet for the first time in 1778 on the banks of the Great Fish River is true. But these Bantu were the spearhead of the last, not the first, Bantu invasion from the north. My own impression is that 900 A.D. is nearer the date of the first Bantu invasion of South Africa. Dr Breutz (p. 30) has already shown that Theal is at least 100 years too late in his dating of the Batlhaping war. It is interesting to note that the Barolong and others claim (p. 24) "that their remote forefathers came from the region of the rising sun, but they themselves came from north

of the equator". This statement admits of other than a literal interpretation. It merely means that a ruling group with a cult of the sun organized this group of Bantu and controlled their southward migration. It is not necessary to invoke Hamitic influences because of the "rising sun" remark.

We are introduced to the Sotho word *boo* as in boo Ratlou, boo Seitsturo, boo Ratshidi (p. 31) but we are not told the significance of *boo*. One learns however on page 283 "Index of Tribes and Clans" that "prefixes and genitive particles such as ba, ma, ba ga, boo, are ignored for index purposes." Nevertheless in the index one finds boo Ratlou, etc.

The Chronologies of chiefs are valuable documents for future Native Commissioners when investigating claims to succession.

A description of the two settlements around Mafeking makes interesting reading. One is a tribal settlement under a tribal chief, the other is a location which is considered by those who know to be "more detribalized than those of the locations of the large urban centres". (p. 37).

The statement (p. 37) that "most of the crime which is committed is due to the consumption of European liquor" is a most unscientific statement and should never have been made. Dr Breutz has produced no data in support of this statement. More European liquor is drunk in France per head of the population than anywhere else in the world and there is less crime there than in the United States. I have been in Moçambique where European liquor is available to Bantu and there is no serious crime among them attributed to alcohol. Until there is sound data on which to base such sweeping statements, it is most unwise to make them.

The tables XI-XVI are not only very useful but also very interesting. Dr Breutz's (p. 40) statement that a proven method of estimating the strength of individual tribes is to multiply the number of taxpayers by the factor  $4\frac{1}{2}$  is open to doubt; for, an examination of my article\* indicates, 3.3 is a better multiplier.

Table XV is a very interesting one and

\* "A Census Factor," *East African Medical Journal*. Vol. IV, No. 1, 1955.

Dr Breutz must be congratulated upon bringing it out. It is the table of census trends and shows that out of an estimated total of 43,603 natives there were 520 males and 680 females over 100 years of age. This evidence confirms my own claim that the Negro's life potential is high.

Nothing is said about Trust Moneys, the size of the fund, nor how much interest it earns. Such information as is available suggests that these funds earn interest at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  when they could earn 5%.

In the Molopo and Setlagole areas farms are not fenced in, and are not permitted to be fenced in because "a fence would establish private property which is in conflict with the tribal custom" (p. 51). Had such a rule been observed in Britain the loss of village commons would not have occurred.

Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage is the general pattern of the marriage system but maternal ortho-cousin marriages are sometimes permitted. The mother's brother's daughter becomes the great wife.

*Bogadi (lobolo)* is paid and follows the general rule in determining the status of the children born as the following extract shows (p. 65): "If a married couple is divorced and bogadi has not been given, it can still be claimed and if it is paid the children belong to the divorced husband; otherwise he loses them to the mother's kin." Both the sororate and the levirate and also the "seed-bearer" customs are found.

Sorcery is black magic and consists in manipulating a substance to one's desired ends. Witchcraft employs neither substance, spell nor rite. Dr Breutz does not make this distinction; what he calls witchcraft (p. 74) would be called sorcery or black magic by other anthropologists.

As a result of European contacts the culture of these people is disintegrating. This deterioration is readily observed in their pagan religion of which but little remains to-day. As Dr Breutz remarks: "The old Bantu conception of the cosmos has been lost by the present generation . . . The names of the stars have been forgotten, since initiation ceremonies were abandoned."

The second part of the book is really a

gazetteer of each tribe and sub-tribe. There is much detailed history of tribal and European interrelations not found elsewhere.

The book is a *sine qua non* to every government official dealing with the tribes of the Mafeking district and no anthropologist of Africa dare be without a copy on his shelves.

Dr Breutz is to be congratulated in bringing out so informative a book and the Union Government in publishing it and making it available to scholars.

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### **Medicine and Magic of the Mashona. M.**

GELFAND. Juta & Co., Capetown. 1956. 266 pp., 25 illus., 35 plates, glossary. 25s.

The book deals with the spirit world of the Mashona. Five of the chapters deal with spirits, four with the spirit seeker or witchdoctor, one with witchcraft, two with medicine, one with pregnancy and one with death.

Michael Gelfand was appointed in 1940 as physician to the African Hospital, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. In this post he had unusual facilities for studying the African in disease and in sickness and in 1944 he published an excellent book, *The Sick African*. For this task he was well qualified because of his medical training. For his present book he is not nearly so well qualified and his lack of training in the field of anthropology betrays him repeatedly.

A study of native medicines was undertaken in South Africa some fifty years ago by another doctor. Dr M. L. Hewat in 1906 published *Bantu Folklore (Medical and General)*. In the matter of studying the medical side of people in a culture less complex than ours it is difficult to see who can better undertake the task than a medically qualified man, unless it be a team. The need for anthropological training becomes apparent when either of these books is consulted. In each case the two doctors describe the use of herbals as medicines by the witchdoctor. But where Dr Gelfand writes as though the medicines used by the witchdoctor acted by virtue of inherent properties



he appears to be unaware that most of these decoctions have no specific properties and their efficacy lies in their magical application. Dr Hewat shows how the decoctions used acquire their magical properties. It is the use of a formula, a magical spell, as for instance Malinowski pointed out, that makes the decoction efficacious.

Hewat (p. 26) writes: "As a general rule some form of *incantation* is used to exorcise the demon of disease, and if the doctor attributes the illness to the work of some departed spirit, sacrifices are offered to appease his wrath."

Dr Gelfand (p. 185) writes: "Innumerable treatments are advocated for the disease (epilepsy), but they usually consist of liquid preparations taken by mouth as well as some magical procedure to drive away the disease." Neither *incantation* nor *spell* occur in the index of his book and under *magic* is the entry 'page 162'. On page 162 one reads that portions of the bodies of animals are used in medicines because they confer some special power. In other words Dr Gelfand writes as though the Bantu believes that certain things have a power *per se* which, by Frazer's law of similarity, confer their properties on an individual. Hocart disposed of this fallacy when he wrote (*Progress of Man*, London, 1933, p. 160) of magic that "the essentials are the rite and the formula which *establish*, not merely *recognize*, a sympathy which mere resemblance cannot bring about."

Consequently one realizes that Dr Gelfand is not qualified to write on the magic of the Mashona, and this second book unfortunately deals with the magical aspects of Shona tribal life. Nowhere is magic defined. One feels that had Dr Gelfand cleared his mind as to what magic is, instead of writing about magic, something useful would have accrued from his labours.

Of the fourteen chapters, eight deal with the spirits, the spirit seeker or witchdoctor. In fact one may say that the book is written round the highly misunderstood person the 'witchdoctor' or *nganga* and this misunderstanding permeates Dr Gelfand's book. Thus he (p. 11) writes: "The Shona doctor, *nganga*, is a magician." In the glossary one

reads 'nganga—doctor'. On page 101 one reads that *chiremba* means 'doctor'. On page 95 Dr Gelfand quotes a European missionary to the effect that the *nganga* "is the fountain head of Uroi (witchcraft)", as though this missionary were an authority on the subject.

Now it is well known that not only is no *nganga* ever associated with witchcraft but also that he is the inveterate enemy of those who are alleged to practise witchcraft. I say alleged because as Dr Field, Dr Meek, Professor Evans-Pritchard and others have pointed out, no act of witchcraft can be performed. Soga, a Xhosa of the Transkei, in his book, *The AmaXhosa: Life and Customs* (p. 155), writes: "These two functions, high priest and diviner, are the peculiar attributes of the Xhosa *ggira*. The term witchdoctor is generally used by writers to indicate the duties of this official. It is a misnomer, since the implication of the term is that his function is to doctor or cure witches, whereas he does nothing of the kind. In so far as witches are concerned he merely acts as a diviner, who by incantations and divination discovers the evil influence, in other words the witch or wizard, and exposes the culprit. Having done so his duty is at an end, and he leaves it to those affected by the witch or wizard to take such action as they deem appropriate by way of punishment."

Dr Gelfand is aware of this position held by the *nganga* in Shona society because, writing of the *nganga* he says: "His is a noble profession in his society, giving the individual not only the opportunity to devote himself to the art of healing but also to act in a capacity of a priest who contacts the ancestral spirits, the guardians of the home. A *nganga*, therefore, is assured of a high social status, even higher than that of a headman" (p. 98). Why then class him as a witch?

I may mention in passing that this word *nganga* is used by the Bantu living between the Ogowe and the Kuaza rivers on the Atlantic in a broad belt running eastwards to beyond the great lakes.

Nevertheless Dr Gelfand becomes confused

on the role of the *nganga* in Shona society as the following extracts show: "There are other 'black' *nganga* whose practice is largely that of witchcraft and they are therefore looked upon as Varoyi" (p. 76). But *varoyi* contains the root *roi*, which, according to Sir Harry Johnston in his book *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* (Vol. II, London, 1922, p. 416) is widespread in Africa and means witchcraft. Dr Gelfand continues: "*The dangerous nganga* with a bad reputation also practises witchcraft when asked to do so by his clients" (p. 54). What is clear from these extracts is that Dr Gelfand does not understand what is witchcraft and what is black magic or sorcery. The former, the *nganga* cannot practise; the latter he can. Sorcery is an act of black magic. Now magic is any form is an act of learned behaviour. Magic has to be learnt. One serves an apprenticeship to a practising magician and thus learns the art and craft. Witchcraft on the other hand is inherited, not learnt. Many African societies, and the Shona is no exception, have distinct words for the witch (inherited) and the magician (taught). Thus Meek in his *Sudanese Kingdom* (London 1931, 294) writes: "A *pa-shiko* [witch] . . . is born with his or her powers, which are transmitted automatically in the female line. . . . A *pa-shibu* . . . is a sorcerer who derives his powers from drinking certain medicines which he obtains from another *pa-shibu* for certain payments." Dr Gelfand lists "*Itaka* or hereditary witch. In this most important group the witch is possessed and directed by the evil Spirit inherited from a departed parent or relative who practised witchcraft" (p. 52). These Shona also have the words *maroi* and *nganga*. Now *Itaka*, *maroi* and *nganga* are not synonyms even in Shona. One feels that had Dr Gelfand also employed the Shona words in the text far less confusion would have arisen.

Dr Gelfand states that "people who procure these *gona* [medicine bags] are classed as witches because not only does the *gona* confer the power of increasing their own crops, but it also enables the owner to bewitch those of others" (p. 70). One may well

ask, is their ability conferred by the medicine bag, witchcraft or magic?

The use of the stem *roi* or *loi* meaning witchcraft appears to have been introduced among the Shona by the Dzinza (p. 55). This statement, if correct, would account for a confused outlook among the Shona as to what is, and what is not witchcraft. Thus, possession by a *shave*, 'alien spirit' is classed under the heading "*Muroi*: witch" (pp. 73, 74). Such confusion among the Shona does not exculpate Dr Gelfand who should have been able to point out this confusion instead of making confusion worse confounded.

When the African speaks, one gets *his* view of witchcraft, which is what matters, not Dr Gelfand's. Thus on page 55 we find: "Some *nganga* believe it is possible to cure a witch and enable her to forget her witchcraft, but they admit that this is by no means easy, since the trait is usually inherited from parents . . ." There is here no question of being taught witchcraft. Dr Gelfand gets close to the distinction between witchcraft and magic when he writes: "The Shona . . . believes that there are people with evil spirits who cannot be cured of their badness and who delight in evil actions and wish to do harm with witchcraft. He believes that sickness caused by magic can be prevented by counter-magic and therefore it is essential to protect himself by magical means" (p. 154).

The remark that witchcraft is cured by one *nganga* who uses a root, *murapazase*, ground into a fine powder, which is administered in the witch's food by her parents, soon establishing a cure (p. 55), is exasperating in its simplicity but the remark also reveals again Dr Gelfand's limitations. As the cure cannot be a therapeutic one, hence the root need have no medicinal properties whatever, the cure must be effected by magic. Not a word is given about the philosophy, the motivation behind the use of this root, nor is any spell or incantation mentioned.

It is an accepted cliché that African "witchdoctors" "throw the bones" even if no bones appear in their paraphernalia. Dr Gelfand, who ought to know, succumbs to



popular demand and his "witchdoctors" "throw the bones". It is true that on page 116 he remarks that the use of this word 'bones' is unfortunately "a misleading term since of the three main types of bones only one is made of bone whereas the other two are composed of wood or seeds".

He then describes the *hekata* or "wooden bones" as consisting of four slats of wood from the *mutowe* tree (not recorded in the glossary). Each slat is decorated with a specially engraved design on one side only, the other is left blank. One slat is male, another female, a third is a crocodile and the fourth is *Kwami* or *Mabwe*. As these last two terms are not explained and are not in the glossary one is left in the dark as to their significance.

Why Dr Gelfand does not call these "bones" by their correct term of "lots" is difficult to understand. The *Oxford English Dictionary* under 'Lot' gives: "An object (app. usually a piece of wood) used in a widely diffused ancient method of deciding disputes, etc." (Cf. "And so the disciples cast lots, and the lot fell upon Mathias.")

Dr Gelfand then describes a number of casts of these lots but he does not translate the Native words so that it is not possible to gauge the philosophy behind the words. Thus he writes: "The good combinations are *mururu chirume*, which is the best of all and means living or success; *nokwara ina kwami*, *matokwadzima* and *nukwara maviri chirume*" (p. 131). Without my translation one is completely in the dark as to what these expressions mean.

One also notices that on this page for the first time the vernacular Shona words are in italics. Shona words should have been in italics throughout the text.

Another example of interpreting the cast of a lot is given under the term *nokwara* as follows:

"*Nokwara*. The patient is very ill and will be ill for years. Always ill" (p. 133). It indicates that there is a *shave*. The person must be sick because of the *shave* (p. 134). [*Shave* here means a spirit.] No luck (p. 138). He will be released (p. 136). The illness is serious (p. 138). Something

has happened which made the relation unhappy (p. 138). No success (p. 141). Guilty (p. 142). It will be found belonging to a woman (p. 143). Good for both sexes (p. 147). Good (p. 148). One seeks in vain for the fundamental meaning of *nokwara*. What is the philosophy behind this word? What does the root from which the word is derived mean?

On page 160 is discussed a chastity girdle: "The most popular and most interesting method of preventing pregnancy in Mashonaland" writes Dr Gelfand, "is the wearing of a special chain. This chain is known as *mbejiri* and is composed of pairs of roots which the woman wears round her waist". I suspect that this chain or amulet is not of Shona provenance but is of Muslim origin because I reported a similar chain from Muslim Nigeria in *Man* (May-June, 1944, p. 80).

There is some interesting information on the *ngozi*, an aggrieved spirit, especially the *lobola* of a wife for it. One is reminded of the ghost marriages reported by Evans-Pritchard as occurring among the Nuer of the southern Sudan.

So much then for the magical side of this book—now for the medical side. This aspect is covered by chapters on "Preventive Medicine", "The Herbalist and his Remedies", "Pregnancy". Here Dr Gelfand is on surer ground and in dealing with the herbals of the herbalist one reads, feeling that there is less error in interpretation than in the preceding chapters. One notices that *rheumatism* is not a disease found among the Shona. Dr Hewat noted with surprise that the Xhosa used *Salix Capensis* for rheumatism and as the *salicilicates* are derived from the *salix* there was therapeutic sense in its use by the Xhosa.

In the treatment of diarrhoea, the two pharmacopeia's contain, among the numerous plants used, only one genus common to both, namely the *Pelargonium*. After having read of so many plants (cf. *The Useful plants of West Africa*) used medicinally one realizes that most plants used by the African herbalists, etc. are ineffective. Even where the plant has therapeutic properties these are

not understood. Thus the *Ricinus communis* is used as a paste by the Xhosa for headaches, by the Shona as a cure for hiccough by smoking the leaves as cigarettes, by the Hausa the potion formed by boiling the leaves is used for fevers. That part of the book dealing with medicines as understood by Europeans is a useful addition to our knowledge of the ineffectiveness of most African medicines.

There is a glossary of Shona words but one wonders what its function is because none of the words listed on pp. 178-185 occur in it, nor do the words in the following list. One may say that there are far more Shona words listed in the text than in the Glossary.

*mwabri* (p. 61); *murambagweza* (p. 63); *kataza* (pp. 63, 156); *mupeta*, *chizhuza*, *mutukuta*, *mushozhoa*, and *mutarara* (p. 64); *mucvamaropa* (pp. 64, 176); *muminee* and *nhandera* (p. 66); *nyongerezvi* (p. 70); *mugararijira*, *futa*, *munuwani*, *murambanyama*, *muradzo* and *muzeze* (p. 83); *ngwanga* (p.

115); *Kwami* (p. 117); *Mebwe* (p. 117); *chisango* (p. 161); *kapende* (p. 173); *mafuta* (p. 176); and *rusedzo* (p. 219).

This book is not a good book. I would describe it as the draft on which a very good book could be based. This draft should have been sent to some competent anthropologist for criticisms and then the draft should have been rewritten in the light of them.

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#### ERRATUM:

In Reverend A. Sandilands's article, "The Ancestor of Tswana Grammars", which appeared in *African Studies*, 17, 4, 1958, on p. 192, first column, line 19, and on p. 196, second column, line 39, for "eighteenth century" read "nineteenth century".



